



*The Right Honorable Anthony Ash-
ley Cooper Earl of Shaftesbury, Baron Ashley
Winbourn S. Giles, & Lord Cooper of Par-
ham*

J. Closterman Pinx.

Sim: Gribelin Sc.

James C. Burdett.
1811

CHARACTERISTICS.

VOLUME I.

A

L E T T E R

CONCERNING

ENTHUSIASM.

SENSUS COMMUNIS;

A N

ESSAY on the Freedom of
WIT and HUMOUR.

SOLILOQUY, or ADVICE to
an A U T H O R.

Printed in the Year MDCCLVIII.

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P R E F A C E.

I*F the Author of these united tracts had been any friend to PREFACES, he wou'd probably have made his entrance after that manner, in one or other of the Five Treatises formerly publish'd apart. But as to all prefatory or dedicatory discourse, he has told us his mind sufficiently, in that treatise which he calls SOLILOQUY. Being satisfy'd, however, that there are many persons who esteem these introductory pieces as very essential in the constitution of a work; he has thought fit, in behalf of his honest Printer, to substitute these lines under the title of A PREFACE; and to declare,*
“ *That (according to his best judgment and*
“ *authority) these presents ought to pass,*
“ *and be receiv'd, constru'd, and taken,*
“ *as satisfactory in full, for all prelimi-*
“ *nary composition, dedication, direct or*
“ *indirect application for favour to the*

P R E F A C E.

*“ publick, or to any private patron, or
“ party whatsoever : nothing to the contra-
“ ry appearing to him, from the side of
“ Truth, or Reason.” Witness his hand,
this fifth day of December 1710.*

A. A. C. A. N. A. Æ.
C. M. D. C. L. X. X. J.

CH A R A C T E R I S T I C K S

O F

M E N, M A N N E R S, O P I N I O N S, T I M E S.

I N F O U R V O L U M E S.

By the Right Honourable

A N T H O N Y,

E A R L O F S H A F T E S B U R Y.

A N E W E D I T I O N.

M D C C L V I I I.

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C
A
Se
So
A
T
M
A
A
A

THE
CONTENTS.

VOL. I.

A Letter concerning ENTHUSIASM.

Sensus Communis; an Essay on the Freedom
of WIT and HUMOUR.

Soliloquy, or Advice to an AUTHOR.

VOL. II.

An Inquiry concerning VIRTUE and MERIT.

THE MORALISTS; a Philosophical Rhapsody.

VOL. III.

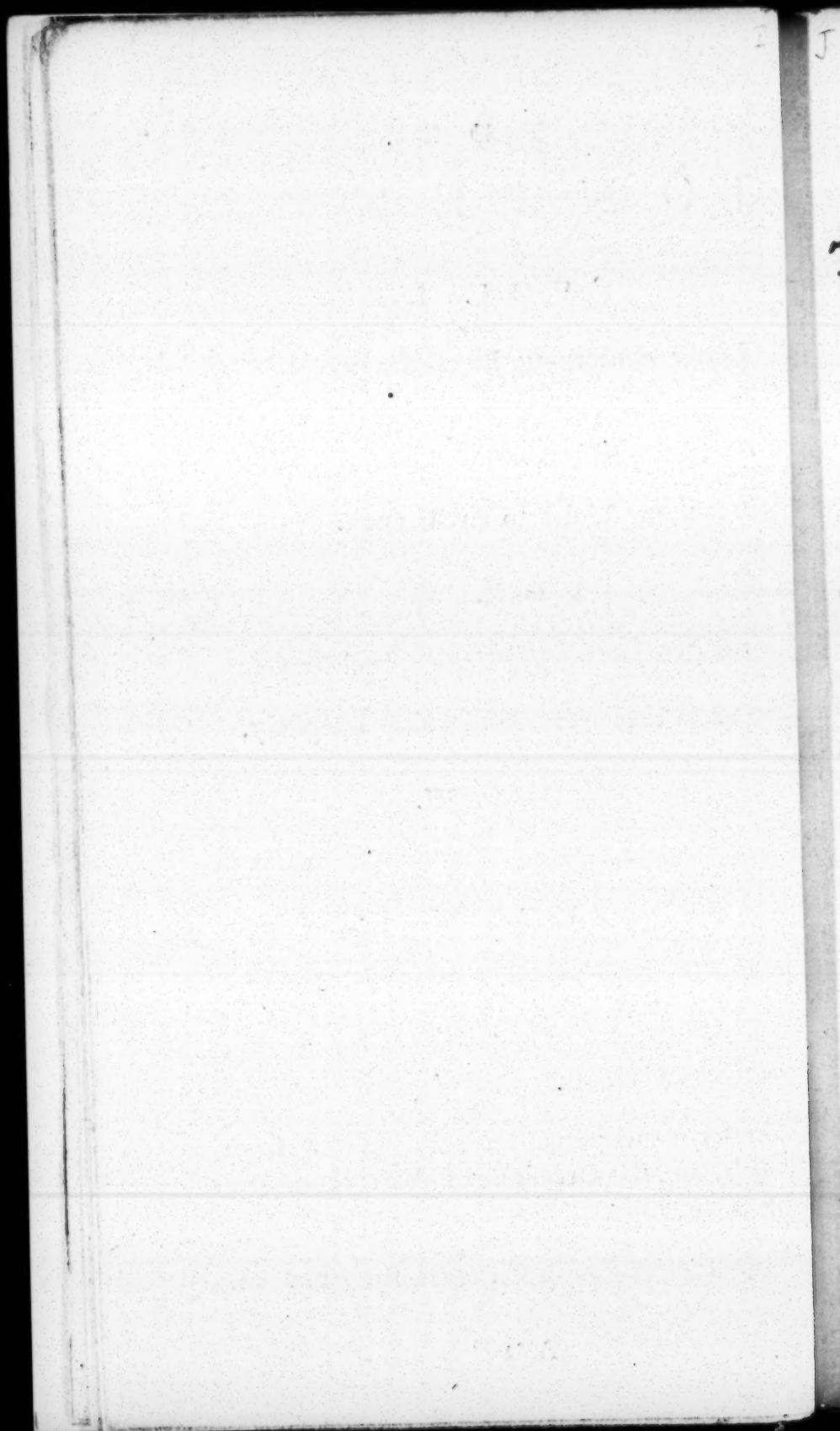
MISCELLANEOUS REFLECTIONS on the said
Treatises, and other critical Subjects.

VOL. IV.

A Notion of the Historical Draught, or Ta-
blature of the Judgment of HERCULES.

A Letter concerning DESIGN, written from
Italy, on the Occasion of THE JUDGMENT
OF HERCULES.

A Collection of Lord SHAFTESBURY'S LETTERS.



T R E A T I S E I.

V I Z.

A

L E T T E R

C O N C E R N I N G

E N T H U S I A S M,

T O

My Lord S O M E R S.

—— *Ridentem dicere Verum*

Quid vetat ?

HOR. Sat. I.

Printed first in the Year M.DCC.VIII.

THE STATE OF

NEW YORK

IN SENATE

JANUARY 1880

REPORT

OF

THE COMMISSIONERS

OF THE LAND OFFICE

AND

THE STATE ENGINEER

A

L E T T E R, &c.

MY LORD,

Sept. 1707.

NOW, you are return'd to and before the season comes which must engage you in the weightier matters of state; if you care to be entertain'd a-while with a sort of idle thoughts, such as pretend only to amusement, and have no relation to business or affairs, you may cast your eye slightly on what you have before you; and if there be any thing inviting, you may read it over at your leisure. Sect. 1.

It has been an establish'd custom for Poets, at the entrance of their work, to address themselves to some *Muse*: and this practice of the antients has gain'd so much repute, that even in our days we find it almost constantly imitated. I cannot but fancy however, that this imitation, which passes so currently with other judgments, must at some time or other have stuck a little with your Lordship; who is us'd to examine things by a better standard than that of fashion or the common taste. You must certainly have observ'd our Poets under a remarkable constraint, when oblig'd to assume this character: and you have wonder'd, perhaps, why that air of *Enthusiasm*, which sits so gracefully with an antient, shou'd be so spiritless and aukard in a modern. But as to this doubt, your Lordship wou'd have soon resolv'd your-self: and it cou'd only serve to bring a-cross you a reflection you have often made, on ma-

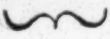
Sect. 1. ny occasions besides ; *That Truth is the most powerful thing in the world*, since even fiction * it-self must be govern'd by it, and can only please by its resemblance. The appearance of reality is necessary to make any passion agreeably represented : and to be able to move others, we must first be mov'd ourselves, or at least seem to be so, upon some probable grounds. Now what possibility is there that a modern, who is known never to have worship'd APOLLO, or own'd any such Deity as the *Muses*, should persuade us to enter into his pretended devotion, and move us by his feign'd zeal in a religion out of date ? But as for the antients, 'tis known they deriv'd both their religion and polity from the *Muses* art. How natural therefore must it have appear'd in any, but especially a Poet of those times, to address himself in raptures of devotion to those acknowleg'd patronesses of wit and science ! Here the Poet might with probability feign an extasy, tho he really felt none : and supposing it to have been mere affectation, it wou'd look however like something natural, and cou'd not fail of pleasing.

BUT perhaps, my Lord, there was a further mystery in the case. Men, your Lordship knows, are wonderfully happy in a faculty of deceiving themselves, whenever they set heartily about it : and a very small foundation of any passion will serve us, not only to act it well, but even to work ourselves into it beyond our own reach. Thus, by a little affectation in love-matters, and with the help of a romance or novel, a boy of fifteen, or a grave man of fifty, may be sure to grow a very natural coxcomb, and feel the *belle passion* in good earnest. A man of tolerable good-nature, who happens to be a little piqu'd, may, by improving his resentment, become a very fury for revenge. Even a good Christian, who wou'd needs be over-good, and thinks he can never believe enough, may, by a small inclina-

* *Infra*, p. 96, &c. and VOL. III. p. 177, &c.

tion well improv'd, extend his faith so largely, as Sect. 1. to comprehend in it not only all scriptural and traditional miracles, but a solid system of old-wives stories. Were it needful, I cou'd put your Lordship in mind of an eminent, learned, and truly Christian Prelate you once knew, who cou'd have given you a full account of his belief in *Fairys*. And this, methinks, may serve to make appear, how far an antient Poet's faith might possibly have been rais'd, together with his imagination.

BUT we Christians, who have such ample faith our-selves, will allow nothing to poor heathens. They must be infidels in every sense. We will not allow 'em to believe so much as their own religion; which we cry is too absurd to have been credited by any besides the mere vulgar. But if a reverend Christian Prelate may be so great a volunteer in faith, as beyond the ordinary prescription of the catholick church, to believe in *Fairys*; why may not a heathen Poet, in the ordinary way of his religion, be allow'd to believe in *Muses*? For these, your Lordship knows, were so many divine persons in the heathen creed, and were essential in their system of theology. The Goddeses had their temples and worship, the same as the other deities: and to disbelieve the *Holy Nine*, or their *APOLLO*, was the same as to deny *Jove* himself; and must have been esteem'd equally profane and atheistical by the generality of sober men. Now what a mighty advantage must it have been to an antient Poet to be thus orthodox, and by the help of his education, and a good-will into the bargain, to work himself up to the belief of a divine presence and heavenly inspiration? It was never surely the business of Poets in those days to call *revelation* in question, when it evidently made so well for their art. On the contrary, they cou'd not fail to animate their faith as much as possible; when by a single act of it, well inforc'd, they could raise themselves into such angelical company.

Sect. 1.  How much the imagination of such a presence must exalt a genius, we may observe merely from the influence which an ordinary presence has over men. Our modern wits are more or less rais'd by the opinion they have of their company, and the idea they form to themselves of the persons to whom they make their addressees. A common actor of the stage will inform us how much a full audience of the better sort exalts him above the common pitch. And you, my Lord, who are the noblest actor, and of the noblest part assign'd to any mortal on this earthly stage, when you are acting for *liberty* and *mankind*; does not the publick presence, that of your friends, and the well-wishers to your cause, add something to your thought and genius? Or is that sublime of reason, and that power of eloquence, which you discover in publick, no more than what you are equally master of, in private; and can command at any time, alone, or with indifferent company, or in any easy or cool hour? This indeed were more Godlike; but ordinary humanity, I think, reaches not so high.

FOR my own part, my Lord, I have really so much need of some considerable presence or company to raise my thoughts on any occasion, that when alone, I must endeavour by strength of fancy to supply this want; and in default of a *Muse*, must inquire out some great man of a more than ordinary genius, whose imagin'd presence may inspire me with more than what I feel at ordinary hours. And thus, my Lord, have I chosen to address my-self to your Lordship; tho without subscribing my name: allowing you, as a stranger, the full liberty of reading no more than what you may have a fancy for; but reserving to my-self the privilege of imagining you read all, with particular notice, as a friend, and one whom I may justifiably treat with the intimacy and freedom which follows.

S E C T. II.

IF the knowing well how to expose any infirmity Sect. 2.
 or vice were a sufficient security for the virtue which is contrary, how excellent an age might we be presum'd to live in ! Never was there in our nation a time known, when folly and extravagance of every kind were more sharply inspected, or more wittily ridicul'd. And one might hope at least from this good symptom, that our age was in no declining state ; since whatever our distempers are, we stand so well affected to our remedys. To bear the being told of faults, is in private persons the best token of amendment. 'Tis seldom that a publick is thus dispos'd. For where jealousy of state, or the ill lives of the great people, or any other cause is powerful enough to restrain the *freedom of censure* in any part, it in effect destroys the benefit of it in the whole. There can be no *impartial* and *free censure* of manners where any peculiar custom or national opinion is set apart, and not only exempted from criticism, but even flatter'd with the highest art. 'Tis only in a free nation, such as ours, that imposture has no privilege ; and that neither the credit of a court, the power of a nobility, nor the awefulness of a church can give her protection, or hinder her from being arraign'd in every shape and appearance. 'Tis true, this liberty may seem to run too far. We may perhaps be said to make ill use of it. — So every one will say, when he himself is touch'd, and his opinion freely examin'd. But who shall be judg of *what* may be freely examin'd, and *what* may not ? *Where* liberty may be us'd ; and *where* it may not ? What remedy shall we prescribe to this in general ? Can there be a better than from that liberty it-self which is complain'd of ? If men are vicious, petulant or abusive ; the magistrate may correct them : but if they reason ill, 'tis reason still must teach 'em to do better. Justness of thought and stile, re-

Sect. 2. *finement* in manners, good breeding, and politeness of every kind, can come only from the trial and experience of what is best. Let but the search go freely on, and the right measure of every thing will soon be found. Whatever humour has got the start, if it be unnatural, it cannot hold; and *the Ridicule*, if ill plac'd at first, will certainly fall at last where it deserves.

I HAVE often wonder'd to see men of sense so mightily alarm'd at the approach of any thing like *Ridicule* on certain subjects; as if they mistrusted their own judgment. For what ridicule can lie against reason? Or how can any one of the least justness of thought endure a ridicule wrong plac'd? Nothing is more ridiculous than this it-self. The vulgar, indeed, may swallow any fordid jest, any mere drollery or buffoonery; but it must be a finer and truer wit which takes with the men of sense and breeding. How comes it to pass then, that we appear such cowards in reasoning, and are so afraid to stand the *test* of ridicule? — O! say we, the subjects are too grave. — Perhaps so: but let us see first whether they are really grave or no: for in the manner we may conceive 'em, they may peradventure be very grave and weighty in our imagination; but very ridiculous and impertinent in their own nature. *Gravity* is of the very essence of imposture. It does not only make us mistake other things, but is apt perpetually almost to mistake it-self. For even in common behaviour, how hard is it for the grave character to keep long out of the limits of the formal one? We can never be too grave, if we can be assur'd we are really what we suppose. And we can never too much honour or revere any thing for grave; if we are assur'd the thing is grave, as we apprehend it. The main point is to know always *true* gravity from *the false*: and this can only be, by carrying the rule constantly with us, and freely applying it not only to the things about us, but to our-selves. For if unhappily we lose the measure in our-selves,

we shall soon lose it in every thing besides. Now Sect. 2. what rule or measure is there in the world, except in the considering of the real temper of things, to find which are truly serious, and which ridiculous? And how can this be done, unless by * applying the *Ridicule*, to see whether it will bear? But if we fear to apply this rule in *any* thing, what security can we have against the imposture of formality in *all* things? We have allow'd our-selves to be *Formalists* in one point; and the same formality may rule us as it pleases in all other.

'Tis not in every disposition that we are capacitated to judg of things. We must before-hand judg of our own temper, and accordingly of other things which fall under our judgment. But we must never more pretend to judg of things, or of our own temper in judging them, when we have given up our preliminary right of judgment, and under a presumption of gravity, have allowed our-selves to be most ridiculous, and to admire profoundly the most ridiculous things in nature, at least for ought we know. For having resolv'd never to try, we can never be sure.

† ———— *Ridiculum acri*

Fortius & melius magnas plerumque secat res.

This, my Lord, I may safely aver, is so true in itself, and so well known for truth by the cunning *Formalists* of the age, that they can better bear to have their impostures rail'd at, with all the bitterness and vehemence imaginable, than to have them touch'd ever so gently in this other way. They know very well, that as modes and fashions, so *opinions*, tho ever so ridiculous, are kept up by solemnity: and that those formal notions which grew up probably in an ill mood, and have been conceiv'd in sober sadness, are never to be remov'd but in a

* *Infra*, p. 42, 51.

† *Hor. Sat. 20.*

Sect. 2. sober kind of cheerfulness, and by a more easy and pleasant way of thought. There is a *melancholy* which accompanies all Enthusiasm. Be it *love* or *religion* (for there are enthusiasms in both) nothing can put a stop to the growing mischief of either, till the melancholy be remov'd, and the mind at liberty to hear what can be said against the ridiculousness of an extreme in either way.

It was heretofore the wisdom of some wise nations, to let people be fools as much as they pleas'd, and never to punish seriously what deserv'd only to be laugh'd at, and was, after all, best cur'd by that innocent remedy. There are certain humours in mankind, which of necessity must have vent. The human mind and body are both of 'em naturally subject to commotions: and as there are strange ferments in the blood, which in many bodys occasion an extraordinary discharge; so in reason too, there are heterogeneous particles which must be thrown off by fermentation. Shou'd physicians endeavour absolutely to allay those ferments of the body, and strike in the humours which discover themselves in such eruptions, they might, instead of making a cure, bid fair perhaps to raise a plague, and turn a spring-ague or an autumn-surfeit into an epidemical malignant fever. They are certainly as ill physicians in the *body-politick*, who wou'd needs be tampering with these mental eruptions; and under the specious pretence of healing this itch of superstition, and saving souls from the contagion of Enthusiasm, should set all nature in an uproar, and turn a few innocent carbuncles into an inflammation and mortal gangrene.

WE read * in history that PAN, when he accompany'd BACCHUS in an expedition to the *Indies*, found means to strike a terrour thro a host of enemys, by the help of a small company, whose clamours he

* Polyæni Strateg. lib. 1. c. 2.

manag'd to good advantage among the echoing rocks Sect. 2. and caverns of a woody vale. The hoarse bellowing of the caves, join'd to the hideous aspect of such dark and desert places, rais'd such a horror in the enemy, that in this state their imagination help'd 'em to hear voices, and doubtless to see forms too, which were more than human : whilst the uncertainty of what they fear'd made their fear yet greater, and spread it faster by implicit looks than any narration cou'd convey it. And this was what in after-times men call'd a *panick*. The story indeed gives a good hint of the nature of this passion, which can hardly be without some mixture of Enthusiasm, and horrors of a superstitious kind.

ONE may with good reason call every passion *panick*, which is rais'd in a * multitude, and convey'd by aspect, or as it were by contact or sympathy. Thus popular fury may be call'd *panick*, when the rage of the people, as we have sometimes known, has put them beyond themselves ; especially where * religion has had to do. And in this state their very looks are infectious. The fury flies from face to face : and the disease is no sooner seen than caught. They who in a better situation of mind have beheld a multitude under the power of this passion, have own'd that they saw in the countenances of men something more ghastly and terrible than at other times is express'd on the most passionate occasions. Such force has † society in ill, as well as in good passions : and so much stronger any affection is for being *social* and *communicative*.

THUS, my Lord, there are many *panicks* in mankind, besides merely that of fear. And thus is religion also *panick* ; when Enthusiasm of any kind gets up ; as oft, on melancholy occasions, it will do. For vapours naturally arise ; and in bad times especially,

* *Infra*, p. 31. and VOL. III. p. 48. in the notes.

† *Infra*, p. 75, &c. and VOL. II. p. 66, 70, &c. 83, &c.

Sect. 2. when the spirits of men are low, as either in publick calamitys, or during the unwholesomness of air or diet, or when convulsions happen in nature, storms, earthquakes, or other amazing prodigys, at this season the *panick* must needs run high, and the magistrate of necessity give way to it. For to apply a serious remedy, and bring the sword, or *fascēs*, as a cure, must make the case more melancholy, and increase the very cause of the distemper. To forbid mens natural fears, and to endeavour the overpowering them by other fears, must needs be a most unnatural method. The magistrate, if he be any artist, shou'd have a gentler hand; and instead of causticks, incisions, and amputations, shou'd be using the softest balms; and with a kind sympathy entering into the concern of the people, and taking, as it were, their passion upon him, shou'd, when he has sooth'd and satisfy'd it, endeavour, by chearful ways, to divert and heal it.

THIS was antient policy: and hence (as a notable author of our nation expresses it) 'tis necessary a people should have a * *publick leading* in religion. For to deny the magistrate a worship, or take away a national church, is as mere Enthusiasm as the notion which sets up persecution. For why shou'd there not be publick walks, as well as private gardens? Why not publick librarys, as well as private education and home-tutors? But to prescribe bounds to fancy and speculation, to regulate mens apprehensions and religious beliefs or fears, to suppress by violence the natural passion of Enthusiasm, or to endeavour to ascertain it, or reduce it to one species, or bring it under any one modification, is in truth no better sense, nor deserves a better character, than what the † comedian declares of the like project in the affair of love ———

————— *Nihilo plus agas*
Quàm si des operam ut cum ratione insanias.

* HARRINGTON.

† Ter. Eun. Act. 1. Sc. 1.

NOT only the visionaries and enthusiasts of all Sect. 2. kinds were tolerated, your Lordship knows, by the antients; but on the other side, philosophy had as free a course, and was permitted as a ballance against superstition. And whilst some sects, such as the *Pythagorean* and latter *Platonick*, join'd in with the superstition and enthusiasm of the times; the *Epicurean*, the *Academick*, and others, were allow'd to use all the force of wit and raillery against it. And thus matters were happily balanc'd; reason had fair play; learning and science flourish'd. Wonderful was the harmony and temper which arose from all these contrarietys. Thus superstition and enthusiasm were mildly treated; and being let alone, they never rag'd to that degree as to occasion blood-shed, wars, persecutions and devastations in the world. But a new sort of policy, which extends it-self to another world, and considers the future lives and happiness of men rather than the present, has made us leap the bounds of natural humanity; and out of a supernatural charity, has taught us the way of plaguing one another most devoutly. It has rais'd an * antipathy which no temporal interest cou'd ever do; and entail'd upon us a mutual hatred to all eternity. And now *uniformity in opinion* (a hopeful project!) is look'd on as the only expedient against this evil. The *saving* of souls is now the heroick passion of exalted spirits; and is become in a manner the chief care of the magistrate, and the very end of government it-self.

IF magistracy shou'd vouchsafe to interpose thus much in other sciences, I am afraid we shou'd have as bad logick, as bad mathematicks, and in every kind as bad philosophy, as we often have divinity, in countrys where a precise orthodoxy is settled by law. 'Tis a hard matter for a government to settle wit. If it does but keep us sober and honest, 'tis

* VOL. III. p. 43, 44. &c. 57, 58. &c.

Sect. 2. likely we shall have as much ability in our spiritual as in our temporal affairs; and if we can but be trusted, we shall have wit enough to save our-selves, when no prejudice lies in the way. But if honesty and wit be insufficient for this *saving* work, 'tis in vain for the magistrate to meddle with it: since if he be ever so virtuous or wise, he may be as soon mistaken as another man. I am sure the only way to save mens sense, or preserve wit at all in the world, is to give liberty to wit. Now wit can never have its liberty, where the *freedom of raillery* is taken away: for against serious extravagances and spenetick humours there is no other remedy than this.

WE have indeed full power over all other modifications of spleen. We may treat other enthusiasms as we please. We may ridicule love, or gallantry, or knight-errantry to the utmost; and we find, that in these latter days of wit, the humour of this kind, which was once so prevalent, is pretty well declin'd. The Crusades, the rescuing the Holy Lands, and such devout gallantrys are in less request than formerly: but if something of this militant religion, something of this soul-rescuing spirit, and saint-errantry prevails still, we need not wonder, when we consider in how solemn a manner we treat this distemper, and how preposterously we go about to cure Enthusiasm.

I CAN hardly forbear fancying, that if we had a sort of inquisition, or formal court of judicature, with grave officers and judges, erected to restrain poetical licence, and in general to suppress that fancy and humour of versification; but in particular that most extravagant passion of love, as it is set out by Poets, in its heathenish dress of VENUS's and CUPID's: if the Poets, as ringleaders and teachers of this heresy, were, under grievous penaltys, forbid to enchant the people by their vein of rhyming; and if the people, on the other side, were, under proportionable penaltys, forbid to hearken to any

such charm, or lend their attention to any love-tale, Sect. 3.
 so much as in a play, a novel, or a ballad; we might perhaps see a new *Arcadia* arising out of this heavy persecution: old people and young wou'd be seiz'd with a versifying spirit: we shou'd have field-conventicles of lovers and poets: forests wou'd be fill'd with romantick shepherds and shepherdesses; and rocks resound with echoes of hymns and praises offer'd to the powers of love. We might indeed have a fair chance, by this management, to bring back the whole train of heathen Gods; and set our cold northern island burning with as many altars to VENUS and APOLLO, as were formerly in *Cyprus*, *Delos*, or any of those warmer *Grecian* climates.

S E C T. III.

BUT, my Lord, you may perhaps wonder, that having been drawn into such a serious subject as *religion*, I shou'd forget my-self so far as to give way to *raillery* and *humour*. I must own, my Lord, 'tis not merely thro chance that this has happen'd. To say truth, I hardly care so much as to think on this subject, much less to write on it, without endeavouring to put my-self in as good humour as is possible. People indeed, who can endure no middle temper, but are all air and humour, know little of the doubts and scruples of religion, and are safe from any immediate influence of *devout Melancholy* or *Enthusiasm*: which requires more deliberation and thoughtful practice to fix it-self in a temper, and grow habitual. But be the habit what it will; to be deliver'd of it at so sad a cost as inconsiderateness, or madness, is what I wou'd never wish to be my lot. I had rather stand all adventures with religion, than endeavour to get rid of the thoughts of it by diversion. All I contend for, is to think of it *in a right humour*: and that this goes more than half-way to-

Sect. 3. wards thinking *rightly* of it, is what I shall endeavour to demonstrate.

GOOD HUMOUR is not only the best security against *Enthusiasm*, but the best foundation of *piety* and *true religion*: for if right thoughts and worthy apprehensions of the supreme Being, are fundamental to all true worship and adoration; 'tis more than probable that we shall never miscarry in this respect, except thro ill humour only. Nothing beside ill humour, either natural or forc'd, can bring a man to think seriously that the world is govern'd by any devilish or malicious power. I very much question whether any thing, besides ill humour, can be the cause of Atheism. For there are so many arguments to persuade a man in humour, that, in the main, all things are kindly and well dispos'd, that one would think it impossible for him to be so far out of conceit with affairs, as to imagine they all ran at adventures; and that *the world*, as venerable and wise a face as it carry'd, had neither sense nor meaning in it. This however I am persuaded of, that nothing beside ill humour can give us dreadful or ill thoughts of a supreme manager. Nothing can persuade us of sullenness or sourness in such a Being, beside the actual fore-feeling of somewhat of this kind within ourselves: and if we are afraid of bringing good humour into religion, or thinking with freedom and pleasantness on such a subject as GOD; 'tis because we conceive the subject so like our-selves, and can hardly have a notion of *majesty* and *greatness*, without *stateliness* and *moroseness* accompanying it.

THIS, however, is the just reverse of that character, which we own to be most *divinely good*, when we see it, as we sometimes do, in men of highest power among us. If they pass for truly *good*, we dare treat them freely, and are sure they will not be displeas'd with this liberty. They are doubly gainers by this goodness of theirs. For the more they are search'd into, and familiarly examin'd, the more their worth appears; and the discoverer, charm'd

with this success, esteems and loves more than ever, Sect. 3. when he has prov'd this additional bounty in his superior, and reflects on that candour and generosity he has experienc'd. Your Lordship knows more perhaps of this mystery than any-one. How else shou'd you have been so belov'd in pow'r, and out of power so adher'd to, and still more belov'd?

THANK Heaven! there are even in our own age some such examples. In former ages there have been many such. We have known mighty Princes, and even Emperors of the world, who cou'd bear unconcernedly not only the free censure of their actions, but the most spiteful reproaches and calumnys, even to their faces. Some perhaps may wish there had never been such examples found in *Heathens*: but more especially, that the occasion had never been given by *Christians*. 'Tis more the misfortune indeed of mankind in general, than of Christians in particular, that some of the earlier *Roman* Emperors were such monsters of tyranny, and began persecution, not on religious men merely, but on all who were suspected of worth or virtue. What cou'd have been a higher honour or advantage to Christianity, than to be persecuted by a NERO? But better Princes, who came after, were perswaded to remit these severe courses. 'Tis true, the magistrate might possibly have been surprized with the newness of a notion, which he might pretend, perhaps, did not only destroy the sacredness of his power, but treated him and all men as profane, impious, and damn'd, who enter'd not into certain particular modes of worship; of which there had been formerly so many thousand instituted, all of 'em compatible and sociable till that time. However, such was the wisdom of some succeeding ministrys, that the edge of persecution was much abated; and even that * Prince, who was esteem'd the greatest enemy of the Christian sect,

VOL. I.

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* See VOL. III. p. 62, 63, 64. in the notes.

sect. 3. and who himself had been educated in it, was a great restrainer of persecution, and wou'd allow of nothing further than a resumption of church-lands and public schools, without any attempt on the goods or persons even of those who branded the state-religion, and made a merit of affronting the public worship.

'Tis well we have the authority of a sacred author in our religion, to assure us, that the spirit of * *love* and *humanity* is above that of *martyrs*. Otherwise, one might be a little scandaliz'd, perhaps, at the history of many of our primitive confessors and martyrs, even according to our own accounts. There is hardly now in the world so good a Christian (if this be indeed the mark of a good one) who, if he happen'd to live at *Constantinople*, or elsewhere under the protection of the *Turks*, wou'd think it fitting or decent to give any disturbance to their *Mosque*-worship. And as good Protestants, my Lord, as you and I are, we shou'd consider him as little better than a rank Enthusiast, who, out of hatred to the Romish idolatry, shou'd, in time of high mass (where mass perhaps was by law establish'd) interrupt the Priest with clamours, or fall foul on his images and relicks.

THERE are some, it seems, of our good brethren, the *French* Protestants, lately come among us, who are mightily taken with this primitive way. They have set a-foot the spirit of martyrdom to a wonder in their own country; and they long to be trying it here, if we will give 'em leave, and afford 'em the occasion: that is to say, if we will only do 'em the favour to hang or imprison 'em; if we will only be so obliging as to break their bones for 'em, after their country-fashion, blow up their zeal, and stir a-fresh the coals of persecution. But no such grace can they hitherto obtain of us. So hard-hearted we are,

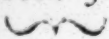
* 1 Cor. ch. xiii. ver. 3.

that notwithstanding their own mob are willing to Sect. 3. bestow kind blows upon 'em, and fairly stone 'em now and then in the open street; tho the priests of their own nation wou'd gladly give 'em their desir'd discipline, and are earnest to light their probationary fires for 'em; we *English* men, who are masters in our own country, will not suffer the Enthusiasts to be thus us'd. Nor can we be suppos'd to act thus in envy to their *Phenix*-sect, which it seems has risen out of the flames, and wou'd willingly grow to be a new church by the same manner of propagation as the old-one, whose *seed* was truly said to be *from the blood of the martyrs*.

BUT how barbarous still, and more than heathenishly cruel, are we tolerating *English* men! For, not contented to deny these prophesying Enthusiasts the honour of a persecution, we have deliver'd 'em over to the cruellest contempt in the world. I am told, for certain, that they are at this * very time the subject of a choice droll or puppet-show at *Bart'lemy-fair*. There, doubtless, their strange voices and involuntary agitations are admirably well acted, by the motion of wires, and inspiration of pipes. For the bodys of the prophets, in their state of prophecy, being not in their own power, but (as they say themselves) mere passive organs, actuated by an exterior force, have nothing natural, or resembling real life, in any of their sounds or motions: so that how awkwardly soever a puppet-show may imitate other actions, it must needs represent this passion to the life. And whilst *Bart'lemy-fair* is in possession of this privilege, I dare stand security to our national church, that no sect of Enthusiasts, no new venders of prophecy or miracles, shall ever get the start, or put her to the trouble of trying her strength with 'em, in any case.

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* Viz. Anno 1707.

Sect. 3.  HAPPY it was for us, that when Popery had got possession, *Smithfield* was us'd in a more tragical way. Many of our first reformers, 'tis fear'd, were little better than Enthusiasts: and God knows whether a warmth of this kind did not considerably help us in throwing off that spiritual tyranny. So that had not the Priests, as is usual, prefer'd the love of blood to all other passions, they might in a merrier way, perhaps, have evaded the greatest force of our reforming spirit. I never heard that the antient heathens were so well advis'd in their ill purpose of suppressing the Christian religion in its first rise, as to make use, at any time, of this *Bart'lemy-fair* method. But this I am persuaded of, that had the truth of the gospel been any way surmountable, they wou'd have bid much fairer for the silencing it, if they had chosen to bring our primitive founders upon the stage in a pleasanter way than that of bear-skins and pitch-barrels.

THE *Jews* were naturally a very † cloudy people, and wou'd endure little raillery in any thing; much less in what belong'd to any religious doctrines or opinions. Religion was look'd upon with a fullen eye; and hanging was the only remedy they could prescribe for any thing which look'd like setting up a new revelation. The sovereign argument was, *Crucify, Crucify*. But with all their malice and inveteracy to our Saviour, and his Apostles after him, had they but taken the fancy to act such puppet-shows in his contempt, as at this hour the Papists are acting in his honour; I am apt to think they might possibly have done our religion more harm, than by all their other ways of severity.

† Our Author having been censur'd for this and some following passages concerning the *Jews*, the reader is refer'd to the notes and citations in Vol. III. p. 39, 40, &c. And, *ibid.* 81, 82, &c. See also below, p. 191, 192.

I BELIEVE our great and learned Apostle found Sect. 3. less † advantage from the easy treatment of his *Athenian* antagonists, than from the surly and curst spirit of the most persecuting *Jewish* cities. He made less improvement of the candour and civility of his *Roman* judges, than of the zeal of the synagogue, and vehemence of his national Priests. Tho when I consider this Apostle as appearing either before the witty *Athenians*, or before the *Roman* court of judicature, in the presence of their great men and ladys, and see how handsomly he accommodates himself to the apprehensions and temper of those politer people: I do not find that he declines the way of *soft* or *good humour*; but, without suspicion of his cause, is willing generously to commit it to this proof, and try it against the sharpness of any ridicule which might be offer'd.

BUT tho the *Jews* were never pleas'd to try their wit or malice this way against our Saviour or his Apostles; the irreligious part of the Heathens had try'd it long before against the best doctrines and best characters of men which had ever risen amongst 'em. Nor did this prove in the end any injury, but on the contrary the highest advantage to those very characters and doctrines, which, having stood the proof, were found so solid and just. The divinest man who had ever appear'd in the heathen world, was in the height of witty times, and by the wittiest of all poets, most abominably ridicul'd, in a whole comedy writ and acted on purpose. But so far was this from sinking his reputation, or suppressing his philosophy, that they each increas'd the more for it; and he apparently grew to be more the envy of other

† What advantage he made of his sufferings, and how pathetically his *bonds* and *stripes* were set to view, and often pleaded by him, to raise his character, and advance the interest of Christianity, any one who reads his *Epistles*, and is well acquainted with his manner and stile, may easily observe.

Sect. 4. teachers. He was not only contented to be ridicul'd ; but, that he might help the poet as much as possible, he presented himself openly in the theater ; that his real figure (which was no advantageous one) might be compar'd with that which the witty Poet had brought as his representative on the stage. Such was his *good humour* ! Nor cou'd there be in the world a greater testimony of the invincible goodness of the man, or a greater demonstration, that there was no imposture either in his character or opinions. For that *imposture* shou'd dare to sustain the encounter of a *grave* enemy, is no wonder. A solemn attack, she knows, is not of such danger to her. There is nothing she abhors or dreads like pleasantness and *good humour*.

S E C T. IV.

IN short, my Lord, the melancholy way of treating religion is that which, according to my apprehension, renders it so tragical, and is the occasion of its acting in reality such dismal tragedys in the world. And my notion is, that provided we treat religion with good manners, we can never use too much *good humour*, or examine it with too much *freedom* and *familiarity*. For, if it be genuine and sincere, it will not only stand the proof, but thrive and gain advantage from hence : if it be spurious, or mix'd with any imposture, it will be detected and expos'd.

THE melancholy way in which we have been taught religion, makes us unapt to think of it in good humour. 'Tis in adversity chiefly, or in ill health, under affliction, or disturbance of mind, or discomposure of temper, that we have recourse to it. Tho in reality we are never so unfit to think of it as at such a heavy and dark hour. We can never be fit to contemplate any thing above us, when we are in no condition to look into our-selves, and calmly examine the temper of our own mind and passions.

For then it is we see wrath, and fury, and revenge, Sect. 4. and terrors *in the DEITY*; when we are full of disturbances and fears *within*, and have, by sufferance and anxiety, lost so much of the natural calm and easiness of our temper.

WE must not only be in ordinary good humour, but in the best of humours, and in the sweetest, kindest disposition of our lives, to understand well what *true goodness* is, and what those *Attributes* imply, which we ascribe with such applause and honour to *the DEITY*. We shall then be able to see best, whether those forms of justice, those degrees of punishment, that temper of resentment, and those measures of offence and indignation, which we vulgarly suppose in GOD, are suitable to those original ideas of *Goodness*, which the same divine Being, or nature under him, has implanted in us, and which we must necessarily presuppose, in order to give him praise or honour in any kind. This, my Lord, is the security against all superstition: to remember, that there is nothing in GOD but what is *Godlike*; and that he is either *not at all*, or *truly and perfectly good*. But when we are afraid to use our reason freely, even on that very question, “Whether he really *be*, or *not*,” we then actually presume him *bad*, and flatly contradict that pretended character of goodness and greatness; whilst we discover this mistrust of his temper, and fear his anger and resentment, in the case of this *freedom of INQUIRY*.

WE have a notable instance of this *freedom* in one of our sacred authors. As patient as JOB is said to be, it cannot be deny'd that he makes bold enough with GOD, and takes his providence roundly to task. His friends, indeed, plead hard with him, and use all arguments, right or wrong, to patch up objections, and set the affairs of providence upon an equal foot. They make a merit of saying all the good they can of GOD, at the very stretch of their reason, and sometimes quite beyond it. But this, in

Se^{ct}. 4. JOB's opinion, is * *flattering* GOD, *accepting* of GOD's *person*, and even *mocking* him. And no wonder. For, what merit can there be in believing GOD, or his *Providence*, upon frivolous and weak grounds? What virtue in assuming an opinion contrary to the appearance of things, and resolving to hear nothing which may be said against it? Excellent character of the GOD *of truth*! that he shou'd be offended at us, for having refus'd to put the lye upon our understandings, as much as in us lay; and be satisfy'd with us for having believ'd, at a venture, and against our reason, what might have been the greatest falsehood in the world, for any thing we cou'd bring as a proof or evidence to the contrary!

IT is impossible that any besides an ill-natur'd man can wish against the being of GOD: for this is wishing against the publick, and even against one's private good too, if rightly understood. But if a man has not any such ill-will to stifle his belief, he must have surely an unhappy opinion of GOD, and believe him not so good by far as he knows *himself* to be, if he imagines that an impartial use of his reason, in any matter of speculation whatsoever, can make him run any risk hereafter; and that a mean *denial* of *his reason*, and *'an affectation of belief* in any point too hard for his understanding, can intitle him to any favour in another world. This is being *sycophants* in religion, mere *parasites* of devotion. 'Tis using GOD as the crafty † beggars use those they address to, when they are ignorant of their quality. The novices amongst 'em may innocently come out, perhaps, with a *Good Sir!* or a *Good Forsooth!* But with the old stagers, no matter whom they meet in a coach, 'tis always *Good your Honour!* or *Good your Lordship!* or *your Ladyship!* For if there shou'd be really a *Lord* in the case, we shou'd be undone (say

* Chap. xiii. ver. 7, 8, 9, & 10.

† VOL. III. p. 87, 8, 9.

they) for want of giving the title : but if the party Sect. 4. shou'd be no *Lord*, there wou'd be no offence ; it wou'd not be ill taken.

AND thus it is in religion. We are highly concern'd how to *beg right* ; and think all depends upon hitting the *title*, and making a *good guess*. 'Tis the most beggarly refuge imaginable, which is so mightily cry'd up, and stands as a great maxim with many able men ; " That they shou'd strive to have *faith*, " and believe to the utmost : because if, after all, " there be nothing in the matter, there will be no " harm in being thus deceiv'd ; but if there be any " thing, it will be fatal for them not to have believ'd " to the full." But they are so far mistaken, that whilst they have this thought, 'tis certain they can never believe either to their satisfaction and happiness in this world, or with any advantage or recommendation to another. For besides that our reason, which knows the cheat, will never rest thoroughly satisfied on such a bottom, but turn us often a-drift, and toss us in a sea of doubt and perplexity ; we cannot but actually grow *worse* in our religion, and entertain a *worse* opinion still of a *supreme DEITY*, whilst our belief is founded on so injurious a thought of him.

To love the public, to study universal good, and to promote the interest of the whole world, as far as lies within our power, is surely the height of goodness, and makes that temper which we call *divine*. In this temper, my Lord, (for surely you shou'd know it well) 'tis natural for us to wish that others shou'd partake with us, by being convinc'd of the sincerity of our example. 'Tis natural for us to wish our merit shou'd be known ; particularly, if it be our fortune to have serv'd a nation as a good minister ; or as some Prince, or father of a country, to have render'd happy a considerable part of mankind under our care. But if it happen'd, that of this number there shou'd be some so ignorantly bred, and of so remote a province, as to have lain out of

Sect. 5. the hearing of our name and actions ; or hearing of 'em, shou'd be so puzzl'd with odd and contrary storys, told up and down concerning us, that they knew not what to think, whether there were really in the world any such person as our-self : shou'd we not, in good truth, be ridiculous to take offence at this ? And shou'd we not pass for extravagantly morose and ill-humour'd, if instead of treating the matter in *raillery*, we shou'd think in earnest of *revengeing our-selves* on the offending partys, who, out of their rustick ignorance, ill judgment, or incredulity, had detracted from our renown ?

How shall we say then ? Does it really deserve praise, to be thus concern'd about it ? Is the doing good for *Gerry's* sake, so divine a thing ? or, is it not diviner, to do good even where it may be thought inglorious, even to the ingrateful, and to those who are wholly insensible of the good they receive ? How comes it then, that what is so *divine* in us shou'd lose its character in the *divine Being* ? And that according as *the DEITY* is represented to us, he shou'd more resemble the weak, * womanish, and impotent part of our nature, than the generous, manly, and divine ?

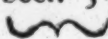
S E C T. V.

ONE wou'd think, my Lord, it were in reality no hard thing to know our own weaknesses at first sight, and distinguish the features of human frailty, with which we are so well acquainted. One wou'd think it were easy to understand, that provocation and offence, anger, revenge, jealousy, point of honour or power, love of fame, glory, and the like, belong only to limited beings, and are necessarily excluded a being which is perfect and universal. But if we have never settl'd with our-selves

* *Infra*, p. 223. And Vol. III. p. 208.

any notion of what is *morally excellent*; or if we Sect. 5.
cannot trust to that reason which tells us, that no-
thing beside *what is so*, can have place in *the DEITY*;
we can neither trust to any thing which others relate
of him, or which he himself reveals to us. We
must be satisfy'd before-hand, that he is *good*, and
cannot deceive us. Without this there can be no real
religious faith, or confidence. Now, if there be re-
ally something previous to revelation, some antecede-
nt demonstration of reason, to assure us that GOD
is, and withal, that he is *so good* as not to deceive
us; the same reason, if we will trust to it, will de-
monstrate to us, that GOD is *so good*, as to exceed
the very best of us *in goodness*. And after this man-
ner we can have no dread or suspicion to render us
uneasy: for it is *malice* only, and not *goodness*,
which can make us afraid.

THERE is an odd way of reasoning, but in cer-
tain distempers of mind very sovereign to those who
can apply it; and it is this: "There can be no
malice but where interests are oppos'd. A uni-
versal being can have no interest opposite; and
therefore can have no malice." If there be a *ge-
neral Mind*, it can have no *particular* interest: but
the general good, or good of the whole, and its
own private good, must of necessity be one and the
same. It can intend nothing besides, nor aim at
any thing beyond, nor be provoked to any thing con-
trary. So that we have only to consider, whether
there be really such a thing as a *Mind which has
relation to the whole*, or not. For if unhappily
there be *no Mind*, we may comfort our-selves, how-
ever, that Nature has *no malice*: if there be really
a *MIND*, we may rest satisfy'd, that it is *the best-
natur'd one in the world*. The last case, one wou'd
imagine, shou'd be the most comfortable; and the
notion of a *common parent* less frightful than that of
forlorn nature, and a *fatherless world*. Tho, as re-
ligion stands amongst us, there are many good people
who wou'd have less fear in being thus expos'd; and

Sect. 5.  wou'd be easier, perhaps, in their minds, if they were assur'd they had only mere *chance* to trust to. For no body trembles to think there shou'd be no *God*; but rather, that there *shou'd be one*. This however wou'd be otherwise, if *Deity* were thought as kindly of as *humanity*; and we cou'd be persuaded to believe, that if there really was a *GOD*, the *highest goodness* must of necessity belong to him, without any of those * defects of passion, those meannesses and imperfections which we acknowlege such in ourselves, which as good men we endeavour all we can to be superior to, and which we find we every day conquer as we grow better.

METHINKS, my Lord, it wou'd be well for us, if before † we ascended into the higher regions of *divinity*, we wou'd vouchsafe to descend a little into *our-selves*, and bestow some poor thoughts upon plain honest *morals*. When we had once look'd into ourselves, and distinguish'd well the nature of our own affections, we shou'd probably be fitter judges of the *divineness* of a character, and discern better what affections were suitable or unsuitable to a *perfect Being*. We might then understand how to *love*, and *praise*, when we had acquir'd some consistent notion of what was *laudable* or *lovely*. Otherwise we might chance to do *GOD* little honour, when we intended him the most. For 'tis hard to imagine what honour can arise to the *DEITY* from the praises of creatures, who are unable to discern what is *praise-worthy* or *excellent* in their own kind.

* For my own part, says honest PLUTARCH, I had rather men shou'd say of me, " That there neither is, " nor ever was, such a one as PLUTARCH;" than they shou'd say, " There was a PLUTARCH, an unsteady, " changeable, easily provokable, and revengeful man; " *ἄνθρωπος ἀβέβαιος, ἐμμετάβολος, ἐν χερὶς πρὸς ὀργήν, μὴ* " *κρόλυτος, &c.*" *Plutarch de Superstitione.* See VOL. III. p. 88, 89.

† VOL. III. p. 29. and 139, 140. in the notes.

If a musician were cry'd up to the skies by a certain set of people who had no ear in musick, he would surely be put to the blush; and cou'd hardly, with a good countenance, accept the benevolence of his auditors, till they had acquir'd a more competent apprehension of him, and cou'd by their own senses find out something really good in his performance. Till this were brought about, there would be little *glory* in the case; and the musician, tho' ever so vain, would have little reason to be contented.

THEY who affect praise the most, had rather not be taken notice of, than be impertinently applauded. I know not how it comes about, that HE who is ever said to do good the most disinterestedly, should be thought desirous of being prais'd so lavishly, and be suppos'd to set so high a rate upon so cheap and low a thing, as *ignorant commendation* and *forc'd applause*.

'Tis not the same with *goodness* as with other qualitys, which we may understand very well, and yet not possess. We may have an excellent ear in *musick*, without being able to perform in any kind. We may judg well of *poetry*, without being Poets, or possessing the least of a poetick vein: but we can have no tolerable notion of *goodness*, without being tolerably *good*. So that if the *praise* of a divine Being be so great a part of his worship, we shou'd, methinks, learn *goodness*, were it for nothing else than that we might learn, in some tolerable manner, how to *praise*. For the praise of goodness from an unsound hollow heart, must certainly make the greatest dissonance in the world.

S E C T. VI.

OTHER reasons, my Lord, there are, why this plain home-spun philosophy, of looking into our-selves, may do us wondrous service, in rectifying our errors in religion. For there is a sort of Enthusiasm of second hand. And when men find no

Se^{ct}. 6. original commotions in themselves, no prepossessing *panick* which bewitches 'em; they are apt still, by the testimony of others, to be impos'd on, and led credulously into the belief of many false miracles. And this habit may make 'em variable, and of a very inconstant faith, easy to be carry'd away with every wind of doctrine, and addicted to every upstart sect or superstition. But the knowledge of our passions in their very seeds, the measuring well the growth and progress of Enthusiasm, and the judging rightly of its natural force, and what command it has over our very * senses, may teach us to oppose more successfully those delusions which come arm'd with the specious pretext of moral certainty, and *matter of fact*.

THE new prophesying sect I made mention of above, pretend, it seems, among many other miracles, to have had a most signal one, acted premeditatedly, and with warning, before many hundreds of people, who actually give testimony to the truth of it. But I wou'd only ask, Whether there were present, among those hundreds, any one person, who having never been of their *sect*, or addicted to their way, will give the same testimony with them? I must not be contented to ask, Whether such a one had been wholly free of that particular Enthusiasm? but, Whether, before that time, he was esteem'd of so sound a judgment, and clear a head, as to be wholly free of *Melancholy*, and in all likelihood incapable of all Enthusiasm besides? For otherwise, the *panick* may have been caught; the evidence of the senses lost, as in a dream; and the imagination so inflam'd, as in a moment to have burnt up every particle of judgment and reason. The combustible matters lie prepar'd within, and ready to take fire at a spark; but chiefly in a † multitude seiz'd with the same spirit. No wonder if the blaze arises so

* VOL. III. p. 30, 31. & 48, 49.

† VOL. III. p. 48. in the notes.

of a sudden ; when innumerable eyes glow with the Sect. 6.
 passion, and heaving breasts are labouring with in-
 spiration : when not the aspect only, but the very
 breath and exhalations of men are infectious, and
 the inspiring disease imparts it-self by insensible tran-
 spiration. I am not a divine good enough to re-
 solve what *spirit* that was which prov'd so catching
 among the antient Prophets, that even the profane
 * SAUL was taken by it. But I learn from holy
 scripture, that there was *the* * *evil*, as well as *the*
good spirit of prophecy. And I find by present ex-
 perience, as well as by all historys, sacred and pro-
 fane, that the operation of *this spirit* is every where
 the same, as to the bodily organs.

A Gentleman who has writ lately in defence of
 reviv'd prophecy, and has since fallen himself into
 the *prophetick extasys*, tells us, " That the antient
 " Prophets had the Spirit of GOD upon them *under*
 " *extasy*, with the divers strange gestures of body &c.
 " nominating them madmen, (or enthusiasts) as appears
 " evidently, *says he*, in the instances of BALAAM,
 " SAUL, DAVID, EZEKIEL, DANIEL, &c." And
 he proceeds to justify this by *the practice* of the apo-
 stolick times, and by *the regulation* which the † A-
 postle himself applies to these seemingly irregular
gifts, so frequent and ordinary, (as our Author pre-
 tends) in the primitive church, on the first rise and
 spreading of Christianity. But I leave it to him to
 make the resemblance as well as he can between his
 own and the apostolick way. I only know, that the
 symptoms he describes, and which himself (poor
 Gentleman !) labours under, are as *heathenish* as
 he can possibly pretend them to be *Christian*. And
 when I saw him lately under *an agitation* (as they
 call it) uttering prophecy in a pompous *Latin* stile,
 of which, out of his extasy, it seems, he is wholly

* See 1 Kings chap. xxii. ver. 20, &c. 2 Chron. chap.
 xviii. ver. 19, &c. And VOL. III. p. 81, 82.

† 1 Cor. ch. xiv.

Sect. 6. incapable ; it brought into my mind the *Latin Poet's* description of the SIBYL, whose agonys were so perfectly like these.

* ——— *Subito non vultus, non color unus,
Non compta mansere comæ ; sed pectus anhelum,
Et rabie fera corda tument ; majorque videri
Nec mortale sonans : afflata est Numine quando
Jam propiore Dei ———*

And again, presently after,

————— *Immanis in antro
Bacchatur Vates, magnum si pectore possit
Excussisse Deum : tanto magis ille fatigat
Os rabidum, fera corda demans, FINGITQUE
PREMENDO.*

Which is the very stile of our experienc'd author.
“ For the inspir'd (*says he*) undergo a probation,
“ wherein the spirit, by frequent agitations, *forms*
“ the *Organs*, ordinarily for a month or two before
“ *Utterance.*”

THE *Roman Historian*, speaking of a most horrible Enthusiasm which broke out in *ROME* long before his days, describes this spirit of prophecy ; *Viros, velut mente captâ, cum jactatione fanatica corporis vaticinari.* Liv. 39. The detestable things which are further related of these Enthusiasts, I wou'd not willingly transcribe : but the senate's mild decree in so execrable a case, I can't omit copying ; being satisfy'd, that tho your Lordship has read it before now, you can read it again and again with admiration : *In reliquum deinde* (*says Livy*) *S. C. cautum est, &c. Si quis tale sacrum solenne & necessarium duceret, nec sine religione & piaculo se id omitttere posse ; apud Prætorem Urbanum profiteretur : Prætor Senatû consuleret. Si ei permissum esset, cû in Senatu centum non minus essent, ita id sacrum fa-*

*ceret; dum ne plus quinque sacrificio interessent, neu Sect. 6.
qua pecunia communis, neu quis magister sacrorum, aut sacerdos esset.*

So necessary it is to give way to this distemper of *Enthusiasm*, that even that Philosopher who bent the whole force of his philosophy against superstition, appears to have left room for visionary fancy, and to have indirectly tolerated *Enthusiasm*. For it is hard to imagine, that one who had so little religious faith as *EPICURUS*, shou'd have so vulgar a credulity, as to believe those accounts of armys and castles in the air, and such visionary *phænomena*. Yet he allows them; and then thinks to solve 'em by his *effluvia*, and aerial looking-glasses, and I know not what other stuff: which his *Latin Poet*, however, sets off beautifully, as he does all.

* ——— *Rerum simulacra vagari*
Multa, modis multis, in cunctas undique partes
Tenuia, que facile inter se junguntur in auris,
Obvia cum veniunt, ut aranea bracteæque aurî
* * * * *
* * * * *
Centaurus itaque, & Scyllarum membra videmus,
Cerberæque canum facies, simulacraque eorum
Quorum morte obita tellus amplectitur ossa:
Omne genus quoniam passim simulacra feruntur,
Partim sponte sua quæ sunt ære in ipso;
Partim quæ variis ab rebus cumque recedunt,

'Twas a sign this philosopher believed there was a good stock of *visionary spirit* originally in human nature. He was so satisfy'd that men were inclin'd to see visions, that rather than they shou'd go without, he chose to make 'em to their hand. Notwithstanding he deny'd the principles of religion to be natural †, he was forc'd tacitly to allow there was a wondrous disposition in mankind towards *superna-*

* *Lucret. lib. 4.*

† *Infra, p. 79.*

Sect. 6. *tural objects*: and that if these ideas were vain, they were yet in a manner *innate*, or such as men were really born to, and cou'd hardly by any means avoid. From which concession, a Divine, methinks, might raise a good argument against him, for the *truth* as well as the *usefulness* of RELIGION. But so it is: whether the matter of apparition be true or false, the symptoms are the same, and the passion of equal force in the person who is vision-struck. The *Lymphatici* of the *Latins* were the *Nympholepti* of the *Greeks*. They were persons said to have seen some species of Divinity, as either some rural *Deity*, or *Nymph*, which threw them into such transports as overcame their reason. The extasys express'd themselves outwardly in quakings, tremblings, tossings of the head and limbs, *agitations*, and (as *Livy* calls them) *fanatical throws* or convulsions, extemporary prayer, prophecy, singing, and the like. All nations have their *Lymphaticks* of some kind or another; and all churches, (Heathen as well as Christian) have had their complaints against *Fanaticism*.

ONE wou'd think the antients imagined this disease had some relation to that which they call'd *Hydrophoby*. Whether the antient *Lymphaticks* had any way like that of biting, to communicate the rage of their distemper, I can't so positively determine. But certain fanaticks there have been since the time of the antients, who have had a most prosperous faculty of communicating the appetite of the teeth. For since first the snappish spirit got up in religion, all sects have been at it, as the saying is, *Tooth and Nail*; and are never better pleas'd, than in worrying one another without mercy.

So far indeed the innocent kind of fanaticism extends it-self, that when the party is struck by the apparition, there follows always an itch of imparting it, and kindling the same fire in other breasts. For thus *Poets* are fanaticks too. And thus *HORACE* either is, or feigns himself *Lymphatick*, and shews

what an effect the vision of the *Nymphs* and *BAC-* Sect. 6.
CHUS had on him.

* *Bacchum in remotis carmina rupibus*

Vidi docentem, credite posteri,

NYMPHASque discentes —

Evæ! recenti mens trepidat metu,

Plenoque Bacchi pectore turbidum

† *LYMPHATUR ——— as Heinsius reads.*

No *Poet* (as I ventur'd to say at first to your Lordship) can do any thing great in his own way, without the imagination or supposition of a *Divine Presence*, which may raise him to some degree of this passion we are speaking of. Even the cold *LUCRETIVS* † makes use of inspiration, when he writes against it; and is forc'd to raise an apparition of *Nature*, in a divine form, to animate and conduct him in his very work of degrading nature, and despoiling her of all her seeming wisdom and divinity.

|| *Alma VENUS, cœli subter labentia signa*

Quæ mare navigerum, quæ terras frugiferentis

Concelebras ———

Quæ quoniam rerum naturam sola gubernas,

Nec sine te quidquam dias in luminis oras

Exoritur, neque fit letum neque amabile quidquam:

Te sociam studeo scribundis versibus esse,

Quos ego de rerum natura pangere conor

MEMMIADÆ nostro.

* *Od. 19. lib. 2.*

† So again, *Sat. 5. ver. 97. Gnatia Lymphis Iratis exstructa*: where *HORACE* wittily treats the people of *Gnatia* as *Lymphaticks* and *Enthusiasts*, for believing a miracle of their priests: *Credat Judæus Apella. Hor. ibid.* See *HEINSIUS* and *TORENTIUS*; and the quotation in the following notes, ὑπὸ τῶν Νυμφῶν, &c.

† *Vol. III. p. 26.*

|| *Lucret. lib. 1.*

S E C T. VII.

Sect. 7. **T**HE only thing, my Lord, I would infer from all this, is, that **ENTHUSIASM** is wonderfully powerful and extensive; that it is a matter of nice judgment, and the hardest thing in the world to know fully and distinctly; since even * *Atheism* is not exempt from it. For, as some have well remark'd, there have been *enthusiastical Atheists*. Nor can divine inspiration, by its outward marks, be easily distinguish'd from it. For inspiration is a *real* feeling of the divine presence, and enthusiasm a *false* one. But the passion they raise is much alike. For when the mind is taken up in vision, and fixes its view either on any real object, or mere specter of divinity; when it sees, or thinks it sees any thing prodigious, and more than human; its horror, delight, confusion, fear, admiration, or whatever passion belongs to it, or is uppermost on this occasion, will have something vast, *immane*, and (as painters say) *beyond life*. And this is what gave occasion to the name of *Fanaticism*, as it was us'd by the antients in its original sense, for an *Apparition* transporting the mind.

SOMETHING there will be of extravagance and fury, when the ideas or images receiv'd are too big for the narrow human vessel to contain. So that *inspiration* may be justly call'd *divine ENTHUSIASM*; for the word it-self signifies *divine Presence*, and was made use of by the Philosopher whom the earliest Christian fathers call'd *divine*, to express whatever was sublime in human passions †. This was the spirit

* VOL. III. p. 46, 47.

† Ἀρ' οἷσθ' ὅτι ὑπο τῶν Νυμφῶν ἐκ προνοίας σαφῶς Ἐνθουσιασῶ Τσαῦτα μὲν σοι ἔτι πλείω ἔχω Μανίας γινομένης ἀπὸ Διῶν λείπει καλὰ ἔργα, &c. Phædr. Καὶ τῆς πολιτικῆς ἐχ ἡμεῖς τῶν γαίμων ἀν' οὐδὲν τε ἵνα καὶ Ἐνθουσιάζειν. Meno. Ἐργων ἔν' αὐ καὶ περὶ τῶν ποιητῶν ἐκ ἐλπίω τῷτο ὅτι ε' σοφία ποιοῦν, ἀλλὰ φύσει τινὶ καὶ Ἐνθουσιάζοντες ὥσπερ οἱ θεομαῖντες καὶ χρησμοδοῖ, Apol. In pæ-

be allotted to *Heroes, Statesmen, Poets, Orators, Sect. 7. Musicians*, and even *Philosophers* themselves. Nor can we, of our own accord, forbear ascribing to a * noble ENTHUSIASM, whatever is greatly perform'd by any of *these*. So that almost all of us know something of this principle. But to know it as we shou'd do, and discern it in its several kinds, both in our-selves, and others; this is the great work, and by this means alone we can hope to avoid delusion. For to judg the spirits whether they are of God, we must antecedently judg our own spirit; whether it be of *reason*, and *sound sense*; whether it be fit to judg at all, by being sedate, cool, and impartial; free of every byassing passion, every giddy vapour, or melancholy fume. This is the first knowledg and previous judgment: "To understand *our-selves*, and know *what spirit we are of*." Afterwards we may judg the spirit in others, consider what their personal merit is, and prove the validity of their testimony by the solidity of their brain. By this means we may prepare our-selves with some *antidote* against enthusiasm. And this is what I have dar'd affirm is best perform'd by keeping to GOOD HUMOUR. For otherwise the remedy it-self may turn to the disease.

AND NOW, my Lord, having, after all, in some measure justify'd ENTHUSIASM, and own'd the word; if I appear extravagant, in addressing to you after the

particular as to *Philosophers*, PLUTARCH tells us, 'twas the complaint of some of the four old *Romans*, when learning first came to them from *Greece*, that their youth grew *enthusiastick* with philosophy. For speaking of one of the philosophers of the *Athenian* embassy, he says, "Ερωτα δι-
ον ἐμβέβηκε τοῖς νέοις ὅρ' ὅ τῶν ἄλλων ἡδονῶν καὶ διατριβῶν
ἐκπίπτοντες Ἐνθουσιῶσι περὶ φιλοσοφίαν. Plut. in vit. Cat.
Major.

* Of this passion, in the nobler and higher sense, see more, VOL. II. p. 50, 255, 256, &c. and VOL. III. p. 24, 26, 27, 29.

Sect. 7. manner I have done, you must allow me to plead an *impulse*. You must suppose me (as with truth you may) most passionately yours ; and with that kindness which is natural to you on other occasions, you must tolerate your *enthusiastick friend*, who, excepting only in the case of this over-forward zeal, must ever appear, with the highest respect,

MY LORD,

Your Lordship's, &c.

TREATISE II.

VIZ.

SENSUS COMMUNIS;

AN

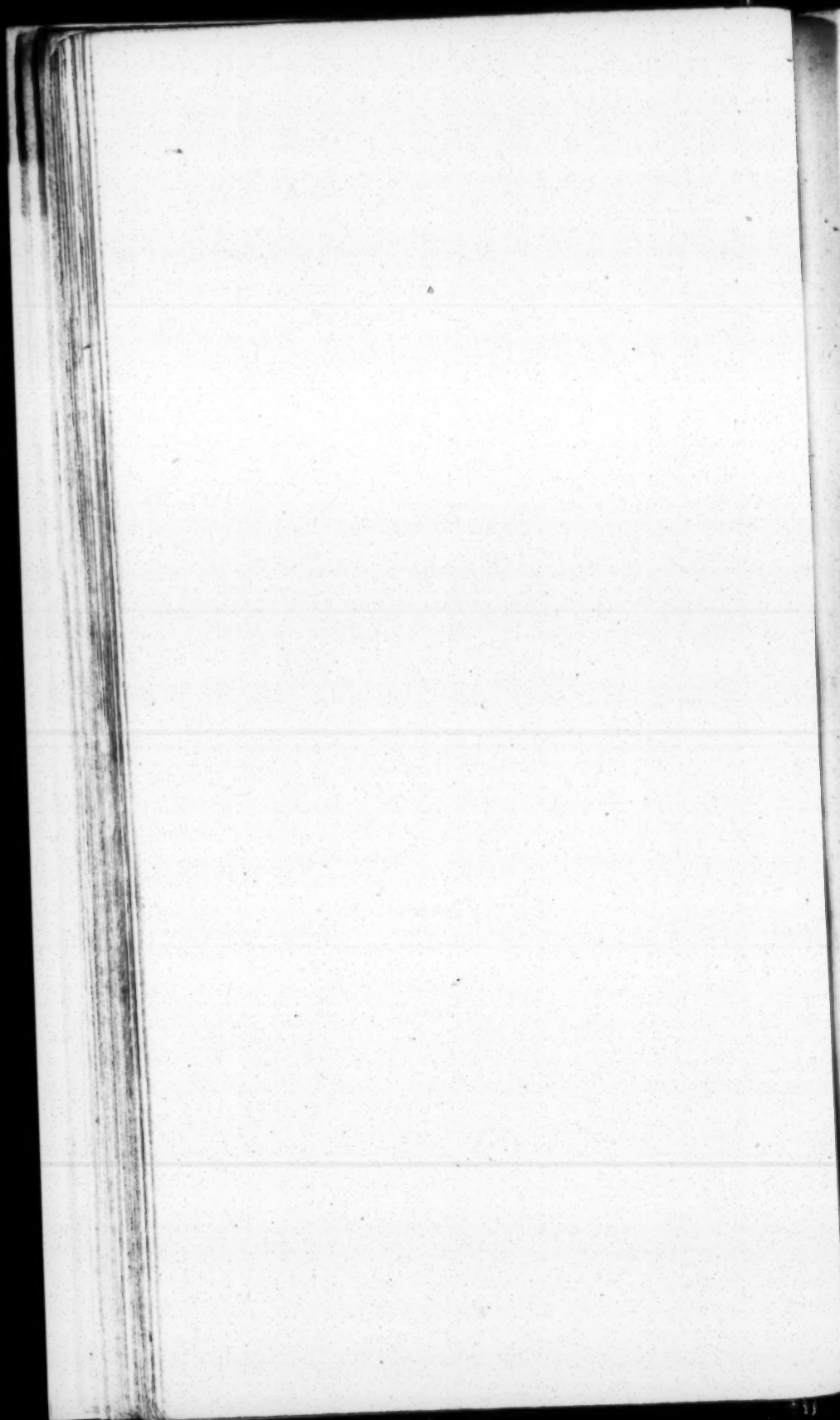
ESSAY

ON THE

FREEDOM

OF

WIT and HUMOUR.



A N

E S S A Y, &c.

P A R T I.

S E C T. I.

I HAVE been considering (my friend !) what your Part 1. fancy was, to express such a surprize as you did the other day, when I happen'd to speak to you in commendation of *Raillery*. Was it possible you shou'd suppose me so grave a man, as to dislike *all* conversation of this kind ? Or were you afraid I shou'd not stand the trial, if you put me to it, by making the experiment in *my own* case ?

I MUST confess, you had reason enough for your caution ; if you cou'd imagine me at the bottom so true a *zealot*, as not to bear the least raillery on my own opinions. 'Tis the case, I know, with many. Whatever they think grave or solemn, they suppose must never be treated out of a grave and solemn way : tho' what *another* thinks so, they can be contented to treat otherwise ; and are forward to try the edge of ridicule against any opinions besides *their own*.

THE question is, Whether this be fair or no ? and, Whether it be not just and reasonable, to make as free with our *own* opinions, as with those of *other people* ? For to be sparing in this case, may be look'd upon as a piece of selfishness. We may be charg'd perhaps with wilful ignorance and blind idolatry, for

Part 1. having taken opinions upon trust, and consecrated in our-selves certain *idol*-notions, which we will never suffer to be unvail'd, or seen in open light. They may perhaps be monsters, and not divinitys, or sacred truths, which are kept thus choicely, in some dark corner of our minds: the specters may impose on us, whilst we refuse to turn 'em every way, and view their shapes and complexions in every light. For that which can be shewn only in a *certain* light, is questionable. Truth, 'tis suppos'd, may bear *all* lights: and *one* of those principal lights or natural mediums, by which things are to be view'd, in order to a thorow recognition, is *ridicule* itself, or that manner of proof by which we discern whatever is liable to just raillery in any subject. So much, at least, is allow'd by all, who at any time appeal to this *criterion*. The gravest gentlemen, even in the gravest subjects, are suppos'd to acknowledg this: and can have no right, 'tis thought, to deny others the freedom of this appeal; whilst they are free to censure like other men, and in their gravest arguments make no scruple to ask, *Is it not ridiculous?*

OF this affair, therefore, I design you shou'd know fully what my sentiments are. And by this means you will be able to judg of me; whether I was sincere the other day in the defence of *raillery*, and can continue still to plead for those ingenious friends of ours, who are often censur'd for their humour of this kind, and for the freedom they take in such an airy way of conversation and writing.

S E C T. II.

IN good earnest, when one considers what use Sect. 2.
is sometimes made of this species of wit, and to what an excess it has risen of late, in some characters of the age; one may be startled a little, and in doubt, what to think of the practice, or whither this rallying humour will at length carry us. It has pass'd from the men of pleasure to the men of business. Politicians have been infected with it: and the grave affairs of state have been treated with an air of *irony* and *banter*. The ablest negotiators have been known the notablest *buffoons*: the most celebrated authors, the greatest masters of *burlesque*.

THERE is indeed a kind of *defensive raillery* (if I may so call it) which I am willing enough to allow in affairs of whatever kind; when the spirit of curiosity wou'd force a discovery of more truth than can conveniently be told. For we can never do more injury to truth, than by discovering too much of it, on some occasions. 'Tis the same with understandings as with eyes: to such a certain size and make just so much light is necessary, and no more. Whatever is beyond, brings darkness and confusion.

'Tis real humanity and kindness, to hide strong truths from tender eyes. And to do this by a pleasant amusement, is easier and civilier, than by a harsh denial, or remarkable reserve. But to go about industriously to confound men, in a mysterious manner; and to make advantage or draw pleasure from that perplexity they are thrown into, by such uncertain talk; is as unhandfom in a way of raillery, as when done with the greatest seriousness, or in the most solemn way of deceit. It may be necessary, as well now as heretofore, for wise men to speak in *parables*, and with a double meaning, that the enemy may be amus'd, and they only *who have ears to hear, may hear*. But 'tis certainly a mean, impotent, and dull sort of wit, which amuses all alike, and leaves

Part I. the most sensible man, and even a friend, equally in doubt, and at a loss to understand what one's real mind is, upon any subject.

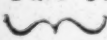
THIS is that *gross* sort of *raillery*, which is so offensive in good company. And indeed there is as much difference between one sort and another, as between fair-dealing and hypocrisy; or between the genteelst wit, and the most scurrilous buffoonery. But by freedom of conversation this illiberal kind of wit will lose its credit. For wit is its own remedy, liberty and commerce bring it to its true standard. The only danger is, the laying an embargo. The same thing happens here, as in the case of *trade*. Impositions and restrictions reduce it to a low ebb; nothing is so advantageous to it as a *free-port*.

WE have seen in our own time the decline and ruin of a false sort of wit, which so much delighted our ancestors, that their poems and plays, as well as sermons, were full of it. All humour had something of *the quibble*. The very language of the court was *punning*. But 'tis now banish'd the town, and all good company: there are only some few footsteps of it in the country; and it seems at last confin'd to the nurseries of youth, as the chief entertainment of pedants and their pupils. And thus in other respects wit will mend upon our hands, and *humour* will refine it-self; if we take care not to tamper with it, and bring it under constraint, by severe usage and rigorous prescriptions. All politeness is owing to liberty. We polish one another, and rub off our corners and rough sides by a sort of *amicable collision*. To restrain this, is inevitably to bring rust upon mens understandings. 'Tis a destroying of civility, good breeding, and even charity it-self, under pretence of maintaining it.

S E C T. III.

TO describe true *raillery* wou'd be as hard a Sect. 3. matter, and perhaps as little to the purpose, as to define *good breeding*. None can understand the speculation, beside those who have the practice. Yet every-one thinks himself *well-bred*: and the formallest pedant imagines he can railly with a good grace and humour. I have known some of those grave gentlemen undertake to correct an author for defending the use of raillery, who at the same time have upon every turn made use of that weapon, tho they were naturally so very aukard at it. And this I believe may be observ'd in the case of many zealots, who have taken upon 'em to answer our modern free-writers. The tragical gentlemen, with the grim aspect and mein of true *inquisitors*, have but an ill grace when they vouchsafe to quit their austerity, and be jocose and pleasant with an adversary, whom they wou'd chuse to treat in a very different manner. For to do 'em justice, had they their wills, I doubt not but their conduct and mein wou'd be pretty much of a-piece. They wou'd, in all probability, soon quit their farce, and make a thorow tragedy. But at present there is nothing so ridiculous as this JANUS-face of writers, who with one countenance force a smile, and with another show nothing beside rage and fury. Having enter'd the lists, and agreed to the fair laws of combat by wit and argument, they have no sooner prov'd their weapon, than you hear 'em crying aloud for help, and delivering over to the *secular arm*.

THERE can't be a more preposterous sight than an *Executioner* and a *Merry-ANDREW* acting their part upon the same stage. Yet I am persuaded any-one will find this to be the real picture of certain modern zealots in their controversial writings. They are no more masters of gravity, than they are of good humour. The first always runs into harsh se-

Part 1. verity, and the latter into an aukard buffoonery,  And thus between anger and pleasure, zeal and drollery, their writing has much such a grace as the play of humourfom children, who, at the same instant, are both peevish and wanton, and can laugh and cry almost in one and the same breath.

How agreeable such writings are like to prove, and of what effect towards the winning over or convincing those who are suppos'd to be in error, I need not go about to explain. Nor can I wonder, on this account, to hear those public lamentations of zealots, that whilst the books of their adversaries are so current, their answers to 'em can hardly make their way into the world, or be taken the least notice of. *Pedantry* and *bigotry* are mill-stones able to sink the best book, which carries the least part of their dead weight. The temper of the pedagogue sutes not with the age. And the world, however it may be *taught*, will not be *tutor'd*. If a philosopher speaks, men hear him willingly, while he keeps to his philosophy. So is a Christian heard, while he keeps to his professed charity and meekness. In a Gentleman we allow of pleasantry and raillery, as being manag'd always with good breeding, and never gross or clownish. But if a mere scholastick, intrenching upon all these characters, and writing as it were by starts and rebounds from one of these to another, appears upon the whole as little able to keep the temper of Christianity, as to use the reason of a philosopher, or the raillery of a man of breeding; what wonder is it, if the monstrous product of such a jumbled brain be ridiculous to the world?

If you think (my friend!) that by this description I have done wrong to these zealot-writers in religious controversy; read only a few pages in any one of 'em (even where the contest is not *abroad*, but within their own *pale*) and then pronounce.

S E C T. IV.

BUT now that I have said thus much concerning Sect. 4. authors and writings, you shall hear my thoughts, as you have desir'd, upon the subject of *Conversation*, and particularly a late one of a free kind, which you remember I was present at, with some friends of yours, whom you fancy'd I shou'd in great gravity have condemn'd.

'Twas, I must own, a very diverting one, and perhaps not the less so for ending as abruptly as it did, and in such a sort of confusion, as almost brought to nothing whatever had been advanc'd in the discourse before. Some particulars of this conversation may not perhaps be so proper to commit to paper. 'Tis enough that I put you in mind of the conversation in general. A great many fine schemes, it's true, were destroy'd; many grave reasonings overturn'd: but this being done without offence to the party's concern'd, and with improvement to the good humour of the company, it set the appetite the keener to such conversations. And I am persuaded, that had *Reason* her self been to judg of her own interest, she wou'd have thought she receiv'd more advantage in the main from that easy and familiar way, than from the usual stiff adherence to a particular opinion.

BUT perhaps you may still be in the same humour of not believing me in earnest. You may continue to tell me, I affect to be paradoxical, in commending a conversation as advantageous to reason, which ended in such a total uncertainty of what reason had seemingly so well establish'd.

To this I answer, That according to the notion I have of *reason*, neither the written treatises of the learned, nor the set discourses of the eloquent, are able of themselves to teach the use of it. 'Tis the habit alone of reasoning, which can make a *reasoner*. And men can never be better invited to the habit,

Part I. than when they find pleasure in it. A freedom of raillery, a liberty in decent language to question every thing, and an allowance of unravelling or refuting any argument, without offence to the arguer, are the only terms which can render such speculative conversations any way agreeable. For to say truth, they have been render'd burdensom to mankind by the strictness of the laws prescrib'd to 'em, and by the prevailing pedantry and bigotry of those who reign in 'em, and assume to themselves to be dictators in these provinces.

* *SEMPER ego auditor tantum!* is as natural a case of complaint in divinity, in morals, and in philosophy, as it was of old, *the Satirist's*, in poetry. *Vicissitude* is a mighty law of discourse, and mightily long'd for by mankind. In matter of reason, more is done in a minute or two, by way of question and reply, than by a continued discourse of whole hours. *Oration*s are fit only to move the passions: and the power of *declamation* is to terrify, exalt, ravish, or delight, rather than satisfy or instruct. A free conference is a close fight. The other way, in comparison to it, is merely brandishing, or *beating the air*. To be obstructed therefore and manacled in conferences, and to be confin'd to hear orations on certain subjects, must needs give us a distaste, and render the subjects so manag'd, as disagreeable as the managers. Men had rather reason upon trifles, so they may reason freely, and without the imposition of authority, than on the usefulest and best subjects in the world, where they are held under a restraint or fear.

NOR is it a wonder that men are generally such faint reasoners, and care so little to argue strictly on any trivial subject in company; when they dare so little exert their reason in greater matters, and are forc'd to argue lamely, where they have need of

* Juv. Sat. 1.

of the greatest activity and strength. The same Sect. 4. thing therefore happens here as in strong and healthy bodys, which are debar'd their natural exercise, and confin'd in a narrow space. They are forc'd to use odd gestures and contortions. They have a sort of action, and move still, tho with the worst grace imaginable. For the animal spirits in such sound and active limbs cannot lie dead, or without employment. And thus the natural free spirits of ingenious men, if imprison'd and controul'd, will find out other ways of motion to relieve themselves in their *constraint*: and whether it be in burlesque, mimicry or buffoonery, they will be glad at any rate to vent themselves, and be reveng'd on their *constrainers*.

If men are forbid to speak their minds seriously on certain subjects, they will do it ironically. If they are forbid to speak at all upon such subjects, or if they find it really dangerous to do so; they will then redouble their disguise, involve themselves in mysteriousness, and talk so as hardly to be understood, or at least not plainly interpreted, by those who are dispos'd to do 'em a mischief. And thus *raillery* is brought more in fashion, and runs into an extreme. 'Tis the persecuting spirit has rais'd the *bantering* one: and want of liberty may account for want of a true politeness, and for the corruption or wrong use of pleasantry and humour.

If in this respect we strain the just measure of what we call *urbanity*, and are apt sometimes to take a buffooning rustick air, we may thank the ridiculous solemnity and sour humour of our *pedagogues*: or rather, they may thank themselves, if they in particular meet with the heaviest of this kind of treatment. For it will naturally fall heaviest, where the constraint has been the severest. The greater the weight is, the bitterer will be the satire. The higher the slavery, the more exquisite the buffoonery.

Part I.

THAT this is really so, may appear by looking on those countrys where the spiritual tyranny is highest. For the greatest of buffoons are the ITALIANS: and in their writings, in their freer sort of conversations, on their theatres, and in their streets buffoonery and burlesque are in the highest vogue. 'Tis the only manner in which the poor cramp'd wretches can discharge a free thought. We must yield to 'em the superiority in this sort of wit. For what wonder is it if we, who have more of liberty, have less dexterity in that egregious way of railery and ridicule?

S E C T. V.

THIS for this reason, I verily believe, that the ancients discover so little of this spirit, and that there is hardly such a thing found as mere *burlesque* in any authors of the politer ages. The manner indeed in which they treated the very gravest subjects, was somewhat different from that of our days. Their treatises were generally in a free and familiar stile. They chose to give us the representation of real discourse and converse, by treating their subjects in the way of * *Dialogue* and free debate. The scene was usually laid at table, or in the public walks or meeting-places; and the usual wit and humour of their real discourses appear'd in those of their own composing. And this was fair. For without wit and humour, *reason* can hardly have its proof, or be distinguish'd. The magisterial voice and high strain of the pedagogue commands reverence and awe. 'Tis of admirable use to keep understandings at a distance, and out of reach. The other manner, on the contrary, gives the fairest hold, and suffers an antagonist to use his full strength hand to hand, upon even ground.

* See the following treatise, viz. *Soliloquy*, part I. sect. 3.

'Tis not to be imagin'd what advance the reader has, when he can thus cope with his author, who is willing to come on a fair stage with him, and exchange the tragick buskin for an easier and more natural gate and habit. *Grimace* and *tone* are mighty helps to imposture. And many a formal piece of sophistry holds proof under a severe brow, which wou'd not pass under an easy one. 'Twas the saying of * an antient sage, " That humour was " the only test of gravity ; and gravity, of humour. For a subject which wou'd not bear rail- " lery, was suspicious ; and a jest which wou'd not " bear a serious examination, was certainly false " wit."

BUT some gentlemen there are so full of the spirit of *bigotry*, and false *zeal*, that when they hear principles examin'd, sciences and arts inquir'd into, and matters of importance treated with this frankness of humour, they imagine presently that all professions must fall to the ground, all establishments come to ruin, and nothing orderly or decent be left standing in the world. They fear, or pretend to fear, that religion it self will be endanger'd by this free way ; and are therefore as much alarm'd at this liberty in private conversation, and under prudent management, as if it were grossly us'd in publick company, or before the solemnest assembly. But the case, as I apprehend it, is far different. For you are to remember (my friend !) that I am writing to you in defence only of the liberty of *the club*, and of that sort of freedom which is taken amongst *gentlemen* and *friends*, who know one another perfectly well. And that 'tis natural for me to defend liberty with this restriction, you may infer from the very notion I have of liberty it-self.

* GORGIIAS LEONTINUS, *apud* Arist. *Rhet.* l. 3. c. 18.

Τὴν μὲν σπᾶδην διαφθεῖρειν γελῶσι, τὸν δὲ γελῶτα σπᾶδῃ ;
which the translator renders, *Seria risu, risum seriis discu-*
tere.

Part I. 'Tis surely a violation of the freedom of publick assemblys, for any one to take the chair, who is neither call'd nor invited to it. To start questions, or manage debates, which offend the publick ear, is to be wanting in that respect which is due to common society. Such subjects shou'd either not be treated at all in publick, or in such a manner as to occasion no scandal or disturbance. The publick is not, on any account, to be laugh'd at, to its face; or so reprehended for its follies, as to make it think it-self condemn'd. And what is contrary to good breeding, is in this respect as contrary to liberty. It belongs to men of slavish principles, to affect a superiority over *the vulgar*, and to despise *the multitude*. The lovers of mankind respect and honour conventions and societys of men. And in mix'd company, and places where men are met promiscuously on account of diversion or affairs, 'tis an imposition and hardship to force 'em to hear what they dislike, and to treat of matters in a dialect, which many who are present have perhaps been never us'd to. 'Tis a breach of the harmony of publick conversation, to take things in such a key, as is above the common reach, puts others to silence, and robs them of their *privilege of turn*. But as to private society, and what passes in select companys, where friends meet knowingly, and with that very design of exercising their wit, and looking freely into all subjects; I see no pretence for any one to be offended at the way of raillery and humour, which is the very life of such conversations; the only thing which makes good company, and frees it from the formality of business, and the tutorage and dogmaticalness of the schools.

S E C T. VI.

TO return therefore to our argument. If the best of our modern conversations are apt to run chiefly upon trifles; if rational discourses (especi-

ally those of a deeper speculation) have lost their Sect. 6.
credit, and are in disgrace because of their *formality*; there is reason for more allowance in the way of *humour* and *gaiety*. An easier method of treating these subjects, will make 'em more agreeable and familiar. To dispute about 'em, will be the same as about other matters. They need not spoil good company, or take from the ease or pleasure of a polite conversation. And the oftner these conversations are renew'd, the better will be their effect. We shall grow better *reasoners*, by reasoning pleasantly, and at our ease; taking up, or laying down these subjects, as we fancy. So that, upon the whole, I must own to you, I cannot be scandaliz'd at the raillery you took notice of, nor at the effect it had upon our company. The humour was agreeable, and the pleasant confusion which the conversation ended in, is at this time as pleasant to me upon reflection; when I consider, that instead of being discourag'd from resuming the debate, we were so much the readier to meet again at any time, and dispute upon the same subjects, even with more ease and satisfaction than before.

WE had been a long while entertain'd, you know, upon the subject of *morality* and *religion*. And amidst the different opinions started and maintain'd by several of the partys with great life and ingenuity; one or other wou'd every now and then take the liberty to appeal to COMMON SENSE. Every-one allow'd the appeal, and was willing to stand the trial. No-one but was assur'd *common sense* wou'd justify him. But when issue was join'd, and the cause examin'd at the bar, there cou'd be no judgment given. The partys however were not less forward in renewing their appeal, on the very next occasion which presented. No-one wou'd offer to call the authority of the court in question; till a gentleman whose good understanding was never yet brought in doubt, desir'd the company very gravely, that they would tell him *what common sense was*.

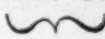
Part 2.

“ IF by the word *sense* we were to understand opinion and judgment, and by the word *common* the generality or any considerable part of mankind; ’twou’d be hard, he said, to discover where the subject of common sense cou’d lie. For that which was according to the sense of one part of mankind, was against the sense of another. And if the majority were to determine common sense, it wou’d change as often as men chang’d. That which was according to common sense to day, wou’d be the contrary to morrow, or soon after.”

BUT notwithstanding the different judgments of mankind in most subjects, there were some however in which ’twas suppos’d they all agreed, and had the same thoughts in common. — The question was ask’d still, *Where?* “ For whatever was of any moment, ’twas suppos’d, might be reduc’d under the head of *religion, policy, or morals.*

“ OF the differences in RELIGION there was no occasion to speak; the case was so fully known to all, and so feelingly understood by Christians, in particular, among themselves. They had made found experiment upon one another; each party in their turn. No endeavours had been wanting on the side of any particular sect. Which-ever chanc’d to have the power, fail’d not of putting all means in execution, to make their private sense the public one. But all in vain. *Common* sense was as hard still to determine as *catholic* or *orthodox.* What with one was inconceivable mystery, to another was of easy comprehension. What to one was absurdity, to another was demonstration.

“ AS for POLICY; what sense or whose cou’d be call’d common, was equally a question. If plain *British* or *Dutch* sense were right, *Turkish* or *French* sense must certainly be very wrong. And as mere nonsense as passive-obedience seem’d; we found it to be the common sense of a great

“ party amongst our-selves, a greater party in *Eu-* Sect. 6.
“ *rope*, and perhaps the greatest part of all the 
“ world besides.

“ As for *MORALS* ; the difference, if possible,
“ was still wider. For without considering the opi-
“ nions and customs of the many barbarous and il-
“ literate nations ; we saw that even the few who
“ had attain'd to riper letters, and to philosophy,
“ cou'd never as yet agree on one and the same
“ system, or acknowledg the same moral precepts.
“ And some even of our most admir'd modern phi-
“ losophers had fairly told us, that *virtue* and *vice*
“ had, after all, no other *law* or *measure*, than
“ *mere fashion* and *vogue*.”

It might have appear'd perhaps unfair in our friends, had they treated only the graver subjects in this manner ; and suffer'd the lighter to escape. For in the gayer part of life, our follies are as solemn as in the most serious. The fault is, we carry the laugh but *half-way*. The false earnest is ridicul'd, but the *false jest* passes secure, and becomes as errant deceit as the other. Our diversions, our plays, our amusements become *solemn*. We dream of happinesses and possessions, and enjoyments in which we have no understanding, no certainty ; and yet we pursue these as the best known and most certain things in the world. There is nothing so foolish and deluding as a * *partial scepticism*. For whilst the doubt is cast only on one side, the certainty grows so much stronger on the other. Whilst only one face of folly appears ridiculous, the other grows more solemn and deceiving.

BUT 'twas not thus with our friends. They seem'd better *criticks*, and more ingenious, and fair in their way of questioning receiv'd opinions, and exposing the ridicule of things. And if you will allow me to carry on their humour, I will venture

* VOL. II. pag. 150, 151.

Part 2. to make the experiment throughout; and try what certain knowledg or assurance of things may be recover'd, in that very way, by which all certainty, you thought, was lost, and an endless *scepticism* introduc'd.

PART II.

SECT. I.

IF a native of ETHIOPIA were on a sudden transported into EUROPE, and plac'd either at PARIS or VENICE at a time of carnival, when the general face of mankind was disguis'd, and almost every creature wore a mask; 'tis probable he would for some time be at a stand, before he discover'd the cheat: not imagining that a whole people could be so fantastical, as upon agreement, at an appointed time, to transform themselves by a variety of habits, and make it a solemn practice to impose on one another, by this universal confusion of characters and persons. Tho he might at first perhaps have look'd on this with a serious eye, it would be hardly possible for him to hold his countenance, when he had perceiv'd what was carrying on. The EUROPEANS, on their side, might laugh perhaps at this simplicity. But our ETHIOPIAN would certainly laugh with better reason. 'Tis easy to see which of the two would be ridiculous. For he who laughs, and is himself ridiculous, bears a double share of ridicule. However, shou'd it so happen, that in the transport of ridicule, our ETHIOPIAN, having his head still running upon *masks*, and knowing nothing of the *fair* complexion and common dress of the EUROPEANS, shou'd upon the sight of a natural face and habit, laugh just as heartily as before;

wou'd not he in his turn become ridiculous, by carrying the jest too far ; when by a silly presumption he took *nature* for mere *art*, and mistook perhaps a man of sobriety and sense for one of those ridiculous *nummers* ? Sect. 1.

THERE was a time when men were accountable only for their actions and behaviour. Their opinions were left to themselves. They had liberty to differ in these, as in their faces. Every one took the air and look which was natural to him. But in process of time, it was thought decent to mend mens countenances, and render their intellectual complexions uniform and of a sort. Thus the magistrate became a *dresser*, and in his turn was *dress'd* too, as he deserv'd ; when he had given up his power to a new order of *tire-men*. But tho in this extraordinary conjuncture 'twas agreed that there was only one certain and *true dress*, one *single* peculiar *air*, to which it was necessary all people shou'd conform ; yet the misery was, that neither the magistrate nor the *tire-men* themselves, cou'd resolve, which of the various modes was the *exact true-one*. Imagine now, what the effect of this must needs be ; when men became persecuted thus on every side about their *air* and *feature*, and were put to their shifts how to adjust and compose their *mein*, according to the right mode ; when a thousand models, a thousand patterns of dress were current, and alter'd every now and then, upon occasion, according to *fashion* and the humour of the times. Judg whether mens countenances were not like to grow constrain'd, and the natural visage of mankind, by this habit, distorted, convuls'd, and render'd hardly knowable.

BUT as unnatural or artificial as the general face of things may have been render'd by this unhappy care of *dress*, and over-tenderness for the *safety of complexions* ; we must not therefore imagine that all faces are alike besmear'd or plaister'd. All is not *fucus*, or mere varnish. Nor is the face of truth less fair and beautiful, for all the counterfeit vizards

Part 2. which have been put upon her. We must remember the *carnival*, and what the occasion has been of this wild concourse and medly: who were the institutors of it: and to what purpose men were thus set a-work and amus'd. We may laugh sufficiently at the original cheat; and, if pity will suffer us, may make our-selves diversion enough with the folly and madness of those who are thus taught, and practis'd on, by these impostures. But we must remember withal our *ETHIOPIAN*, and beware, lest by taking plain nature for a vizard, we become more ridiculous than the people whom we ridicule. Now if a jest or *ridicule* thus strain'd, be capable of leading the judgment so far astray; 'tis probable that an excess of fear or horror may work the same effect.

HAD it been your fortune (my friend!) to have liv'd in *ASIA* at the time when the * *MAGI* by an egregious imposture got possession of the empire; no doubt you wou'd have had a detestation of the act: and perhaps the very persons of the men might have grown so odious to you, that after all the cheats and abuses they had committed, you might have seen 'em dispatch'd with as relentless an eye as our later *European* ancestors saw the destruction of a like politick body of conjurers, the *Knights Templars*; who were almost become an over-match for the civil sovereign. Your indignation perhaps might have carry'd you to propose the razing all monuments and memorials of these magicians. You might have resolv'd not to leave so much as their houses standing. But if it had happen'd that these magicians, in the time of their dominion, had made any collection of books, or compil'd any themselves, in which they had treated of *philosophy*, or *morals*, or any other science, or part of *learning*; wou'd you have carry'd your resentment so far as to have extirpated these also, and condemn'd every opinion or doctrine they had espous'd, for no other reason

than merely *because they had espous'd it*? Hardly Sect. 1. a SCYTHIAN, a TARTAR, or a GOTH, wou'd act or reason so absurdly. Much less wou'd you (my friend!) have carry'd on this MAGOPHONY, or *Priest-massacre*, with such a barbarous zeal. For, in good earnest, to destroy a philosophy in hatred to a man, implies as errant a *Tartar*-notion, as to destroy or murder a man in order to plunder him of his wit, and get the inheritance of his understanding.

I MUST confess indeed, that had all the institutions, statutes, and regulations of this antient *Hierarchy*, resembled the fundamental † one, of the order it self, they might with a great deal of justice have been suppress'd: for one can't without some abhorrence read that law of theirs;

* *Nam Magus ex matre & gnato gignatur oportet.*

BUT the conjurers (as we'll rather suppose) having consider'd that they ought in their *principle* to appear as fair as possible to the world, the better to conceal their *practice*, found it highly for their interest to espouse some excellent moral rules, and establish the very best maxims of this kind. They thought it for their advantage perhaps, on their first setting out, to recommend the greatest purity of religion, the greatest integrity of life and manners. They may perhaps too, in general, have preach'd up charity and good-will. They may have set to view the fairest face of human nature; and together with their by-laws, and political institutions, have interwove the honestest morals and best doctrine in the world.

How therefore shou'd we have behav'd our-selves in this affair? How shou'd we have carry'd our-

† Πέρσαι ἡ καὶ μάλις αὐτῶν οἱ σοφίαν ἀσχεῖν δοκῶντες οἱ μάγοι, γαμῶσι τὰς μητέρας. Sext. Empir. Pyg. l. 3. c. 24.

* Catull. 87.

Part 2. selves towards this order of men, at the time of the discovery of their cheat, and ruin of their empire? Shou'd we have fall'n to work instantly with their systems, struck at their opinions and doctrines without distinction, and erected a contrary philosophy in their teeth? Shou'd we have flown at every religious and moral principle, deny'd every natural and social affection, and render'd men as much * *wolves* as was possible to one another, whilst we describ'd 'em such; and endeavour'd to make them see themselves by far more monstrous and corrupt, than with the worst intentions it was ever possible for the worst of 'em to become? — This, you'll say, doubtless wou'd have been a very preposterous part, and could never have been acted by other than mean spirits, such as had been held in awe, and over-frighted by the † MAGI.

AND yet an ‡ able and witty philosopher of our nation was, we know, of late years, so possess'd with a horror of this kind, that both with respect to politicks and morals, he directly acted in this spirit of *massacre*. The fright he took upon the sight of the then governing powers, who unjustly assum'd the authority of the people, gave him such an abhorrence of all popular government, and of the very notion of liberty it-self; that to extinguish it for

* *Infra*, p. 80. and VOL. II. p. 208.

† VOL. III. p. 46, 47. in the notes.

‡ Mr. HOBBS, who thus expresses himself: *By reading of these Greek and Latin authors, men from their childhood have gotten a habit (under a false shew of liberty) of favouring tumults, and of licentious controlling the actions of their sovereigns.* *Leviathan*, part 2. c. 21. p. 111. By this reasoning of Mr. HOBBS it shou'd follow, that there can never be any tumults or deposing of sovereigns at *Constantinople*, or in *Mogul*. See again, p. 171, and 377. and what he intimates to his prince (p. 193.) concerning this extirpation of ancient literature, in favour of his *Leviathanian-hypothesis*, and new philosophy.

ever, he recommends the very extinguishing of letters, and exhorts princes not to spare so much as an ancient ROMAN or GREEK historian. — Is not this in truth somewhat *Gothick*? And has not our philosopher, in appearance, something of the *savage*, that he shou'd use philosophy and learning as the SCYTHIANS are said to have us'd ANACHARSIS and others, for having visited the wise of GREECE, and learnt the manners of a polite people?

His quarrel with *religion* was the same as with *liberty*. The same times give him the same terror in this other kind. He had nothing before his eyes beside the ravage of *enthusiasm*, and the artifice of those who rais'd and conducted that spirit. And the good sociable man, as savage and unsociable as he wou'd make himself and all mankind appear by his philosophy, expos'd himself during his life, and took the utmost pains, that after his death we might be deliver'd from the occasion of these terrors. He did his utmost to shew us, "That both in religion
"and morals we were impos'd on by our governors; that there was nothing which by nature
"inclin'd us either way; nothing which naturally
"drew us to the love of what was without, or beyond * *ourselves*:" tho the love of such great truths and sovereign maxims as he imagin'd these to be, made him the most laborious of all men in composing systems of this kind for our use; and forc'd him, notwithstanding his natural fear, to run continually the highest risk of being a martyr for our deliverance.

GIVE me leave therefore (my friend!) on this occasion, to prevent your seriousness, and assure you, that there is no such mighty danger as we are apt to imagine from these fierce prosecutors of superstition, who are so jealous of every religious or moral principle. Whatever *savages* they may appear in philosophy, they are in their common capacity as *civil*

Part 2. persons, as one can wish. Their free communicating of their principles may witness for them. 'Tis the height of sociableness to be thus friendly and communicative.

If the principles, indeed, were conceal'd from us, and made a *mystery*; they might become considerable. Things are often made so, by being kept as *secrets* of a sect or party: and nothing helps this more than the *antipathy* and *shyness* of a contrary party. If we fall presently into horrors, and consternation, upon the hearing maxims which are thought *poisonous*; we are in no disposition to use that familiar and easy part of reason, which is the best *antidote*. The only *poison* to reason, is *passion*. For false reasoning is soon redress'd, where passion is remov'd. But if the very hearing certain propositions of philosophy be sufficient to move our passion; 'tis plain, the *poison* has already gain'd on us, and we are effectually prevented in the use of our reasoning faculty.

WERE it not for the prejudices of this kind; what shou'd hinder us from diverting our-selves with the fancy of one of these *modern reformers* we have been speaking of? What shou'd we say to one of these *anti-zealots*, who, in the zeal of such a cool philosophy, shou'd assure us faithfully, "That we were the most mistaken men in the world, to imagine there was any such thing as natural faith or justice? For that it was only *force* and *power* which constituted *right*. That there was no such thing in reality as *virtue*; no principle of order in things above, or below; no secret *charm* or force of nature, by which every-one was made to operate willingly or unwillingly towards publick good, and punish'd and tormented if he did otherwise." — Is not this the very *charm* it-self? Is not the Gentleman at this instant under the power of it? — "Sir! the philosophy you have condescended to reveal to us, is most extraordinary. We are beholden to you for your instruction. But

" pray, whence is this zeal in our behalf? What Sect. 2.
 " are we to you? Are you our father? Or if
 " you were, why this concern for us? Is there
 " then such a thing as *natural affection*? If not;
 " why all this pains, why all this danger on our ac-
 " count? Why not keep this secret to yourself?
 " Of what advantage is it to you, to deliver us
 " from the cheat? The more are taken in it, the
 " better. 'Tis directly against your interest to un-
 " deceive us, and let us know that only private in-
 " terest governs you; and that nothing nobler, or
 " of a larger kind, shou'd govern us, whom you
 " converse with. Leave us to our-selves, and to
 " that notable *art* by which we are happily tam'd,
 " and render'd thus mild and *sheepish*. 'Tis not fit
 " we shou'd know that *by nature* we are all *wolves*.
 " Is it possible that one who has really discover'd
 " himself such, shou'd take pains to communicate
 " such a discovery?

S E C T. II.

IN reality (my friend!) a severe brow may well
 be spar'd on this occasion; when we are put
 thus upon the defence of *common honesty*, by such
 fair honest gentlemen, who are in practice so differ-
 ent from what they wou'd appear in speculation.
Knaves I know there are *in notion* and *principle*, as
 well as *in practice*: who think all honesty as well
 as religion a mere cheat; and, by a very consistent
 reasoning, have resolv'd deliberately to do whatever
 by *power* or *art* they are able, for their private ad-
 vantage. But such as these never open themselves
 in friendship to others. They have no such passi-
 on for truth, or love for mankind. They have
 no quarrel with *religion* or *morals*; but know what
 use to make of both, upon occasion. If they ever
 discover their principles, 'tis only at unawares.

Part 2. They are sure to preach honesty, and go to church.

ON the other side, the gentlemen for whom I am apologizing, cannot however be call'd *hypocrites*. They speak as ill of themselves as they possibly can. If they have hard thoughts of human nature ; 'tis a proof still of their humanity, that they give such warning to the world. If they represent men by nature *treacherous* and *wild*, 'tis out of care for mankind ; lest by being too *tame* and *trusting*, they shou'd easily be caught.

IMPOSTORS naturally speak the best of human nature, that they may the easier abuse it. These gentlemen, on the contrary, speak the worst ; and had rather they themselves shou'd be censur'd with the rest, than that *a few* shou'd by imposture prevail over *the many*. For 'tis opinion of *goodness* * which creates easiness of trust : and by *trust* we are betray'd to *power* ; our very reason being thus captivated by those in whom we come insensibly to have an *implicit faith*. But supposing one another to be by nature such very *savages*, we shall take care to come less in one another's power : and apprehending *power* to be *insatiably coveted by all*, we shall the better fence against the evil ; not by giving all into one hand (as the champion of this cause wou'd have us) but, on the contrary, by a right division and ballance of power, and by the restraint of good laws and limitations, which may secure the publick liberty.

SHOU'D you therefore ask me, whether I really thought these gentlemen were fully persuaded of the principles they so often advance in company ? I shou'd tell you, That tho I wou'd not absolutely arraign the gentlemens sincerity ; yet there was something of mystery in the case, more than was imagin'd. The reason, perhaps, why men of wit delight so much to espouse the paradoxical systems,

* VOL. II. p. 217. and VOL. III. p. 80.

is not in truth that they are so fully satisfy'd with Sect. 3. 'em; but in a view the better to oppose some other systems, which by their fair appearance have help'd, they think, to bring mankind under subjection. They imagine that by this *general scepticism*, which they wou'd introduce, they shall better deal with the dogmatical spirit which prevails in some *particular subjects*. And when they have accustom'd men to bear contradiction in the *main*, and hear the nature of things disputed, *at large*; it may be safer (they conclude) to argue *separately*, upon certain nice points in which they are not altogether so well satisfy'd. So that from hence, perhaps, you may still better apprehend why, in conversation, *the spirit of raillery* prevails so much, and notions are taken up for no reason besides their being *odd*, and *out of the way*.

S E C T. III.

BUT let who will condemn *the humour* thus describ'd; for my part, I am in no such apprehension from this sceptical kind of wit. Men indeed may, in a serious way, be so wrought on, and confounded, by different modes of opinion, different systems and schemes *impos'd by authority*, that they may wholly lose all notion or comprehension of *truth*. I can easily apprehend what effect *awe* has over mens understandings. I can very well suppose men may be frighted out of their wits: but I have no apprehension they shou'd be laugh'd out of 'em. I can hardly imagine that in a pleasant way they shou'd ever be talk'd out of their love for society, or reason'd out of humanity and *common sense*. A mannerly wit can hurt no cause or interest for which I am in the least concern'd: and philosophical speculations, politely manag'd, can never surely render mankind more unsociable or unciviliz'd. This is not the quarter from whence I can possibly expect an inroad of savageness and barbarity. And by the best of my observation,

Part 2. I have learnt, that virtue is never such a sufferer, by being *contested*, as by being *betray'd*. My fear is not so much from its witty *antagonists*, who give it exercise, and put it on its defence, as from its tender *nurses*, who are apt to over-lay it, and kill it, with excess of care and cherishing.

I HAVE known a building, which by the officiousness of the workmen has been so *shor'd* and *screw'd up*, on the side where they pretended it had a leaning, that it has at last been turn'd the contrary way, and overthrown. There has something, perhaps, of this kind happen'd in *morals*. Men have not been contented to shew the natural advantages of honesty and virtue. They have rather lessen'd these, the better, as they thought, to advance another foundation. They have made *virtue* so mercenary a thing, and have talk'd so much of its *rewards*, that one can hardly tell what there is in it, after all, which can be worth rewarding. For to be brib'd only or terrify'd into an honest practice, bespeaks little of real honesty or worth. We may make, 'tis true, whatever *bargain* we think fit, and may bestow *in favour* what overplus we please. But there can be no excellency or wisdom in voluntarily rewarding what is neither estimable, nor deserving. And if virtue be not really estimable in it-self, I can see nothing estimable in following it for the sake of *a bargain*.

IF the love of doing good, be not, of it-self, a *good* and *right* inclination; I know not how there can possibly be such a thing as *goodness* or *virtue*. If the inclination be *right*; 'tis a perverting of it, to apply it solely to *the reward*, and make us conceive such wonders of the grace and favour which is to attend virtue; when there is so little shewn of the intrinsic worth or value of the thing it-self.

I cou'd be almost tempted to think, that the true reason why some of the most heroick virtues have so little notice taken of 'em in our holy religion, is, because there wou'd have been no room

left for *disinterestedness*, had they been intitled to a Sect. 3. share of that infinite reward, which providence has by revelation assign'd to other duties. * *Private friendship and zeal for the publick, and our country,*

* By *private friendship* no fair reader can here suppose is meant that *common benevolence and charity* which every Christian is oblig'd to shew towards all men, and in particular towards his fellow-christians, his neighbour, brother, and kindred, of whatever degree; but that *peculiar relation* which is form'd by a consent and harmony of minds, by mutual esteem, and reciprocal tenderness and affection; and which we emphatically call a FRIENDSHIP. Such was that between the two *Jewish* heroes after mentioned, whose love and tenderness was *surpassing that of women*, (2 Samuel, ch. i.) Such were those friendships describ'd so frequently by Poets, between PYLADES and ORESTES, THESEUS and PIRITHOUS, with many others. Such were those between philosophers, heroes, and the greatest of men; between SOCRATES and ANTISTHENES, PLATO and DION, EPAMINONDAS, and PELOPIDAS, SCIPIO and LÆLIUS, CATO and BRUTUS, THRASEA and HELVIDIUS. And such there may have lately been, and are still perhaps in our own age; tho' envy suffers not the few examples of this kind to be remark'd in publick. The Author's meaning is indeed so plain of it-self, that it needs no explanatory apology to satisfy an impartial reader. As for others who object the singularity of the assertion, as differing (they suppose) from what our reverend Doctors in religion commonly maintain, they may read what the learned and pious Bishop Taylor says in his treatise of Friendship. " You inquire (says he) how far a dear and a perfect friendship is authorized by the principles of Christianity? To this I answer, That the word *friendship*, in the sense we commonly mean by it, is not so much as nam'd in the New Testament; and our religion takes no notice of it. You think it strange; but read on, before you spend so much as the beginning of a passion or a wonder upon it. There is mention of *friendship of the world*; and it is

Part 2. are virtues purely voluntary in a Christian. They are no essential parts of his *charity*. He is not ty'd to the affairs of this life ; nor is he oblig'd to enter into such engagements with this lower world, as are of no help to him in acquiring a better. His conversation is in heaven. Nor has he occasion for such supernumerary cares or embarrassments here on earth, as may obstruct his way thither, or retard him

" said to be *enmity with God* : but the word is no where
 " else nam'd, or to any other purpose, in all the New
 " Testament. It speaks of friends often ; but by *friends*
 " are meant our acquaintance, or our kindred, the rela-
 " tives of our family or our fortune, or our sect, &c.—
 " And I think I have reason to be confident, that the
 " word *friend* (speaking of human intercourse) is no other.
 " ways us'd in the gospels, or epistles, or acts of the A-
 " postles." And afterwards, " Christian charity (says he)
 " is friendship to *all* the world ; and when friendships
 " were the noblest things in the world, charity was little,
 " like the sun drawn in at a chink, or his beams drawn in-
 " to the center of a burning-glass : but Christian charity
 " is friendship expanded like the face of the sun, when it
 " mounts above the eastern hills." In reality the good
 Bishop draws all his notions, as well as examples of pri-
 vate friendship from the heathen world, or from the times
 preceding Christianity. And after citing a *Greek* author,
 he immediately adds : " Of such immortal, abstracted, pure
 " friendships, indeed there is no great plenty ; but they
 " who are the same to their friend *ἀνέστροφον*, when he is
 " in another country, or in another world, are fit to pre-
 " serve the sacred fire for eternal sacrifices, and to per-
 " petuate the memory of those exemplary friendships of
 " the best of men, which have fill'd the world with his-
 " story and wonder : for in no other sense but this can
 " it be true, that friendships are pure loves, regarding to
 " do good more than to receive it. He that is a friend
 " after death, hopes not for a recompence from his friend,
 " and makes no bargain either for fame or love ; but is
 " rewarded with the conscience and satisfaction of doing
 " bravely."

in the careful task of working out his own salvation. Sect. 3.
If nevertheless any portion of reward be reserv'd here-
after for the generous part of a *patriot*, or that of a
thorow friend; this is still behind the curtain, and
happily conceal'd from us; that we may be the more
deserving of it, when it comes.

It appears indeed under the *Jewish* dispensation,
that each of these virtues had their illustrious exam-
ples, and were in some manner recommended to us
as honourable, and worthy our imitation. Even
SAUL himself, as ill a Prince as he is represented,
appears both living and dying to have been respected
and prais'd for the love he bore his native country.
And the love which was so remarkable between his
son and successor, gives us a noble view of a disinte-
rested friendship, at least on *one* side. But the he-
roick virtue of these persons had only the common
reward of praise attributed to it, and cou'd not claim
a future recompence under a religion which taught no
future state, nor exhibited any rewards or punish-
ments, besides such as were temporal, and had re-
spect to the written law.

AND thus the *Jews* as well as *Heathens* were left
to their philosophy, to be instructed in the sublime
part of virtue, and induc'd by reason to that which
was never injoin'd 'em by command. No premium
or penalty being inforc'd in these cases, the disinte-
rested part subsisted, the virtue was a *free choice*,
and the magnanimity of the act was left entire. He
who wou'd be generous, had the means. He who
wou'd frankly serve his friend, or country, at the
* expence even of his life, might do it on fair terms.
† DULCE ET DECORUM EST was his sole reason.

* *Peradventure* (says the holy Apostle) for a good man
wou'd even dare to die, τὰχα τις καὶ τολμᾷ, &c. Rom.
ch. v. ver. 7. This the Apostle judiciously supposes to be-
long to human nature: tho he is so far from founding any
precept on it, that he ushers his private opinion with a
very dubious *peradventure*. † HORAT. lib. 3. od. 2.

Part 2. are virtues purely voluntary in a Christian. They are no essential parts of his *charity*. He is not fo ty'd to the affairs of this life ; nor is he oblig'd to enter into such engagements with this lower world, as are of no help to him in acquiring a better. His conversation is in heaven. Nor has he occasion for such supernumerary cares or embarrassments here on earth, as may obstruct his way thither, or retard him

“ said to be *enmity with God* : but the word is no where
 “ else nam'd, or to any other purpose, in all the New
 “ Testament. It speaks of friends often ; but by *friends*
 “ are meant our acquaintance, or our kindred, the rela-
 “ tives of our family or our fortune, or our sect, &c.—
 “ And I think I have reason to be confident, that the
 “ word *friend* (speaking of human intercourse) is no other.
 “ ways us'd in the gospels, or epistles, or acts of the A-
 “ postles.” And afterwards, “ Christian charity (says he)
 “ is friendship to *all* the world ; and when friendships
 “ were the noblest things in the world, charity was little,
 “ like the sun drawn in at a chink, or his beams drawn in-
 “ to the center of a burning-glass : but Christian charity
 “ is friendship expanded like the face of the sun, when it
 “ mounts above the eastern hills.” In reality the good
 Bishop draws all his notions, as well as examples of pri-
 vate friendship from the heathen world, or from the times
 preceding Christianity. And after citing a *Greek* author,
 he immediately adds : “ Of such immortal, abstracted, pure
 “ friendships, indeed there is no great plenty ; but they
 “ who are the same to their friend *ἀνθρώπων*, when he is
 “ in another country, or in another world, are fit to pre-
 “ serve the sacred fire for eternal sacrifices, and to per-
 “ petuate the memory of those exemplary friendships of
 “ the best of men, which have fill'd the world with his-
 “ tory and wonder : for in no other sense but this can
 “ it be true, that friendships are pure loves, regarding to
 “ do good more than to receive it. He that is a friend
 “ after death, hopes not for a recompence from his friend,
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long to human nature: tho he is so far from founding any
precept on it, that he ushers his private opinion with a
very dubious *peradventure*. † HORAT. lib. 3. od. 2.

Part 3. 'Twas *inviting* and *becoming*. 'Twas *good* and *honest*.
 And that this is still a good reason, and according to
common sense, I will endeavour to satisfy you. For
 I shou'd think my-self very ridiculous to be angry
 with any-one for thinking me dishonest; if I could
 give no account of my honesty, nor shew upon what
 principle I differ'd from * a knave.

P A R T III.

S E C T. I.

THE Roman Satirist may be thought more than
 ordinary satirical, when speaking of the *no-*
bility and *court*, he is so far from allowing
 them to be the standard of politeness and good sense,
 that he makes 'em in a manner the reverse.

† *Rarus enim ferme sensus communis in illa
 Fortuna* —

Some of the ‡ most ingenious commentators, however,
 interpret this very differently from what is generally
 apprehended. They make this *common sense* of the

* Inf. p. 88, 89. &c. 117, 118. † Juv. Sat. 8. v. 73.

‡ Viz. The two *Casaubons*, *Is.* and *Mer. Salmasius*, and
 our *English Gataker*: see the first in *Capitolinus*, *Vit. M.*
Ant. sub finem. The second in his *Comment. on M. Ant.*
lib. 1. §. 13, & 16. Gataker on the same place; and *Sal-*
masius in the same life of *Capitolinus*, at the end of his
Annotations. The Greek word is Κοινονημοσύνη, which *Sal-*
masius interprets, "moderatam, usitatam & ordinariam ho-
 "minis mentem quae in commune quodammodo consulit,
 "nec omnia ad commodum suum refert, respectumque e-
 "tiam habet eorum cum quibus versatur, modeste, mo-
 "diceque de se sentiens. At contra inflati & superbi omnes
 "se sibi tantum suisque commodis natos arbitrantur, &
 "prae se caeteros contemnunt & negligunt; & hi sunt
 "qui sensum communem non habere recte dici possunt. Nam
 "ita sensum communem accipit *Juvenalis*, Sat. 8. *Rarus enim*

Poet, by a Greek derivation, to signify *sense* of publick Sect. 1. weal, and of the common interest; love of the community or society, natural affection, humanity, obligingness, or that sort of civility which rises from a just sense of the common rights of mankind, and the natural equality there is amongst those of the same species.

"ferme SENSUS COMMUNIS, &c. Φιλανθρωπίαν & Χρη-
"σότητα Galenus vocat quam Marcus de se loquens Κοινο-
"νομοσύνην; & alibi, ubi de eadem re loquitur, Μειριότη-
"τα, καὶ Εὐσυνμοσύνην, qua gratiam illi fecerit Marcus
"simul eundi ad Germanicum bellum ac sequendi se." In
the same manner *Isaac Casaubon*: *Herodianus* (says he) calls
this the τὸ μέτριον καὶ ἰσομέτρον. "Subjicit vero *Antoni-*
"nus quasi hac vocem interpretans, ἃ τὸ ἐρεῖσθαι τοῖς φίλοις
"μήτε Συνδειπνῆν αὐτῷ πάντως, μήτε Συνάποδημῆν ἐπάναλ-
"κεις." This, I am persuaded, is the *sensus communis* of
HORACE (Sat. 3. l. 1.) which has been unobserv'd (as far
as I can learn) by any of his commentators: it being re-
markable withal, that in this early satir of HORACE, be-
fore his latter days, and when his philosophy as yet in-
clin'd to the less rigid assertors of virtue, he puts this ex-
pression (as may be seen by the whole satir taken together)
into the mouth of a *Crispinus*, or some ridiculous mimick of
that severe philosophy, to which the coinage of the word
Κοινονομοσύνη properly belong'd. For so the Poet again
(Sat. 4. v. 77.) uses the word SENSUS, speaking of those
who without *sense* of manners, or common society, with-
out the least respect or deference to others, press rudely
upon their friends, and upon all company in general, with-
out regard to time or place, or any thing besides their sel-
fish and brutish humour:

— Haud illud quaerentes, num sine SENSU,

Tempora num faciant alieno. ——— ἀναισθητῶς,
as old *Lambin* interprets it, tho without any other expla-
nation; referring only to the *sensus communis* of HORACE
in that other satir. Thus SENECA (Epist. 105.) *Odium*
autem ex offensa sic vitabis, neminem laceſſendo gratuito: a quo
te SENSUS COMMUNIS tuebitur. And CICERO ac-
cordingly, *Iustitiae partes sunt, non violare homines: vere-*

Part 3. AND indeed if we consider the thing nicely, it must seem somewhat hard in the Poet, to have deny'd *wit* or *ability* to a court such as that of ROME, even under a TIBERIUS or a NERO. But for *humanity*, or *sense of publick good*, and the *common interest* of mankind, 'twas no such deep fatir to question whether this was properly *the spirit of a court*. 'Twas difficult to apprehend what *community* subsisted among courtiers; or what *publick* between an absolute prince and his slave-subjects. And for real *society*, there cou'd be none between such as had no other *sense* than that of *private good*.

OUR Poet therefore seems not so immoderate in his censure; if we consider it is the *heart*, rather than the *head*, he takes to talk: when reflecting on a *court-education*, he thinks it unapt to raise any affection towards a *country*; and looks upon young Princes, and Lords, as the *young masters* of the world; who being indulg'd in all their passions, and train'd up in all manner of licentiousness, have that thorow contempt and disregard of mankind, which mankind in a manner deserves, where arbitrary power is permitted, and a tyranny ador'd.

cundiae, non-offendere. Lib. I. de Off. It may be objected possibly by some particularly vers'd in the philosophy above mention'd, that the *κοινὸς Νῆς*, to which the *κοινωνία* seems to have relation, is of a different meaning. But they will consider withal how small the distinction was in that philosophy, between the *ὑποληψίς*, and the vulgar *αἰσθησις*; how generally *passion* was by those philosophers brought under the head of *opinion*. And when they consider, besides this, the very formation of the word *κοινωνία* upon the model of the other femaliz'd virtues, the *Εὐννομία*, *Σοφροσύνη*, *Δικαιοσύνη*, &c. they will no longer hesitate on this interpretation. — The reader may perhaps by this note see better why the Latin title of *Sensus Communis* has been given to this second treatise. He may observe, withal, how the same Poet JUVENAL uses the word *sensus*, in Sat. 15. *Haec nostrae pars optima sensus.*

• *Hæc satis ad juvenem, quem nobis fama superbum* Sect. 1.
Tradit, & inflatum plenumque Nerone propinquo. ~~~~~

A PUBLICK spirit can come only from a social feeling or *sense of partnership* with human kind. Now there are none so far from being *partners* in this *sense*, or sharers in this *common affection*, as they who scarcely know *an equal*, nor consider themselves as subject to any law of *fellowship* or *community*. And thus morality and good government go together. There is no real love of virtue, without the knowledge of *publick good*. And where absolute power is, there is NO PUBLICK.

THEY who live under a *tyranny*, and have learnt to admire its power as sacred and divine, are debauch'd as much in their religion, as in their morals. *Publick good*, according to their apprehension, is as little the measure or rule of government in *the universe*, as in *the state*. They have scarce a notion of what is good or just, other than as mere *will* and *power* have determin'd. Omnipotence, they think, wou'd hardly be it-self, were it not at liberty to † dispense with the laws of equity, and change at pleasure the standard of moral rectitude.

BUT notwithstanding the prejudices and corruptions of this kind, 'tis plain there is something still of a *publick principle*, even where it is most perverted and deprest'd. The worst of magistracys, *the mere despotick kind*, can shew sufficient instances of zeal and affection towards it. Where no other government is known, it seldom fails of having that allegiance and duty paid it, which is owing to a better form. The eastern countrys, and many barbarous nations, have been and still are examples of this kind. The personal love they bear their prince, however severe towards them, may shew how natural an affection there is towards government and order among mankind. If men have *really* no publick parent, no magistrate in common, to cherish and protect 'em,

* Juv. Sat. 8.

† Inf. pag. 201.

Part 3. they will still *imagine* they have such a one ; and like new-born creatures who have never seen their dam, will fancy one for themselves, and apply (as by nature prompted) to some like form, for favour and protection. In the room of a *true foster-father*, and *chief*, they will take after a *false one* ; and in the room of a *legal government* and *just prince*, obey even a *tyrant*, and endure a whole lineage and succession of such.

As for us BRITONS, thank heaven, we have a better *sense* of government deliver'd to us from our ancestors. We have the notion of A PUBLICK, and A CONSTITUTION ; how a *legislative*, and how an *executive* is model'd. We understand weight and measure in this kind, and can reason justly on the *ballance of power* and *property*. The maxims we draw from hence, are as evident as those in *mathematics*. Our increasing knowledg shews us every day, more and more, what COMMON SENSE is in politics : and this must of necessity lead us to understand a like *sense* in morals ; which is the foundation.

'Tis ridiculous to say, there is any obligation on man to act sociably, or honestly, in a form'd government ; and not in that which is commonly call'd * *the state of nature*. For, to speak in the fashionable language of our modern philosophy : " Society being " founded on a compact ; the surrender made of every man's private unlimited right, into the hands " of the majority, or such as the majority shou'd appoint, was of free choice, and by a promise." Now *the promise* it-self was made in the *state of nature* : and that which could make a *promise* obligatory in the state of nature, must make *all* other acts of humanity as much our real duty, and natural part. Thus *faith*, *justice*, *honesty*, and *virtue*, must have been as early as the state of nature, or they cou'd never have been *at all*. The civil union, or confederacy, cou'd never make *right* or *wrong* ; if they subsisted not before. He who was free to any villany

* Below, VOL. II. p. 199, 202, &c.

before his contract, will, and ought to make as free Sect. 2.
with his contract, when he thinks fit. The *natural*
knave has the same reason to be a *civil one*; and may
dispense with his politick capacity as oft as he sees oc-
casion: 'tis only *his word* stands in his way. — A
man is oblig'd to *keep his word*. Why? Be-
cause *he has given his word to keep it*. — Is not this
a notable account of the original of moral justice, and
the rise of civil government and allegiance!

S E C T. II.

BUT to pass by these cavils of a philosophy, which
speaks so much of *nature* with so little meaning;
we may with justice surely place it as a principle,
“That if any thing be *natural*, in any creature, or
“any kind; 'tis that which is *preservative* of the
“kind it-self, and conducing to its welfare and sup-
“port.” If in original and pure nature, it be *wrong*
to break a promise, or be treacherous; 'tis as truly
wrong to be in any respect inhuman, or any way
wanting in our natural part towards human kind. If
eating and *drinking* be natural, *herding* is so too. If
any *appetite* or *sense* be natural, the *sense of fellow-*
ship is the same. If there be any thing of nature in
that affection which is between the sexes, the affec-
tion is certainly as natural towards the consequent off-
spring; and so again between the offspring themselves,
as kindred and companions, bred under the same dis-
cipline and economy. And thus a *clan* or *tribe* is
gradually form'd; a *publick* is recogniz'd: and be-
sides the pleasure found in social entertainment, lan-
guage, and discourse, there is so apparent a necessity
for continuing this good correspondency and union,
that to have no *sense* or feeling of this kind, no love
of *country*, *community*, or any thing *in common*,
wou'd be the same as to be insensible even of the
plainest means of *self-preservation*, and most necessa-
ry condition of *self-enjoyment*.

How the wit of man shou'd so puzzle this cause,
as to make civil government and society appear a kind

Part 3. of invention, and creature of art, I know not. For my own part, methinks, this *herding* principle, and *associating* inclination, is seen so *natural* and strong in most men, that one might readily affirm, 'twas even from the violence of this passion that so much disorder arose in the general society of mankind.

UNIVERSAL good, or the interest of *the world in general*, is a kind of remote philosophical object. That *greater community* falls not easily under the eye. Nor is a national interest, or that of a whole people or body politick, so readily apprehended. In less parties, men may be intimately conversant and acquainted with one another. They can there better taste society, and enjoy the *common* good and interest of a more contracted publick. They view the whole compass and extent of their community; and see, and know particularly whom they serve, and to what end they *associate* and *conspire*. All men have naturally their share of this *combining* principle: and they who are of the sprightliest and most active faculties, have a large share of it, that unless it be happily directed by right reason, it can never find exercise for it-self in so remote a sphere as that of the body politick at large. For here perhaps the thousandth part of those whose interests are concern'd, are scarce so much as known by sight. No visible band is form'd; no strict alliance: but the conjunction is made with different persons, orders, and ranks of men; not sensibly, but *in idea*: according to that general view or notion of a *state* or *commonwealth*.

THUS the social aim is disturb'd, for want of certain scope. The *close sympathy* and *conspiring* virtue is apt to lose it-self, for want of direction, in so wide a field. Nor is the passion any-where so strongly felt, or vigorously exerted, as in actual *conspiracy* or *war*, in which the highest genius's are often known the forwardest to employ themselves. For the most generous spirits are the most combining. They delight most to move in concert; and *feel* (if I may say so) in the strongest manner, the force of *the confederating* charma

'Tis strange to imagine that *war*, which of all things appears the most savage, shou'd be the passion of the most heroick spirits. But tis in war that the knot of *fellowship* is closest drawn. 'Tis in war that mutual succour is most given, mutual danger run, and *common affection* most exerted and employ'd. For *heroism* and *philanthropy* are almost one and the same. Yet by a small misguidance of the affection, a lover of mankind becomes a ravager: a hero and deliverer becomes an oppressor and destroyer.

Hence other divisions amongst men. Hence, in the way of peace and civil government, that *love* of party, and subdivision by *cabal*. For sedition is a kind of *cantonizing* already begun within the state. To *cantonize* is natural; when the society grows vast and bulky: and powerful states have found other advantages in sending colonys abroad, than merely that of having elbow-room at home, or extending their dominion into distant countrys. Vast empires are in many respects unnatural: but particularly in this, That be they ever so well constituted, the affairs of many must, in such governments, turn upon a very few; and the relation be less sensible, and in a manner lost, between the magistrate and people, in a body so unwieldy in its limbs, and whose members lie so remote from one another, and distant from the head.

'Tis in such bodys as these that strong factions are aptest to engender. The associating spirits, for want of exercise, form new movements, and seek a narrower sphere of activity, when they want action in a greater. Thus we have *wheels within wheels*. And in some national constitutions (notwithstanding the absurdity in politicks) we have *one empire within another*. Nothing is so delightful as to incorporate. *Distinctions* of many kinds are invented. *Religious societys* are form'd. *Orders* are erected; and their interests espous'd, and serv'd, with the utmost zeal and passion. Founders and patrons of this sort are never wanting. Wonders are perform'd, in this wrong social spirit, by those members of separate so-

Part 3. ciety. And the *associating genius* of man is never better prov'd, than in those very societies, which are form'd in opposition to the general one of mankind, and to the real interest of the state.

IN short, the very spirit of *faction*, for the greatest part, seems to be no other than the abuse or irregularity of that *social love*, and common affection, which is natural to mankind. For the opposite of *sociableness* is *selfishness*. And of all characters, the thorough selfish one is the least forward in *taking party*. The men of this sort are, in this respect, true *men of moderation*. They are secure of their temper; and possess themselves too well, to be in danger of entering warmly into any cause, or engaging deeply with any side or faction.

S E C T. III.

YOU have heard it (my Friend!) as a common saying, that *interest governs the world*. But, I believe, whoever looks narrowly into the affairs of it, will find, that *passion, humour, caprice, zeal, faction*, and a thousand other springs, which are counter to *self-interest*, have as considerable a part in the movements of this machine. There are more wheels and *counter-poisés* in this engine than are easily imagin'd. 'Tis of too complex a kind, to fall under one simple view, or be explain'd thus briefly in a word or two. The studiers of this *mechanism* must have a very partial eye, to overlook all other motions besides those of the lowest and narrowest compass. 'Tis hard, that in the plan or description of this clock-work, no wheel or ballance shou'd be allow'd on the side of the better and more enlarg'd affections; that nothing shou'd be understood to be done in *kindness* or *generosity*; nothing in *pure good nature* or *friendship*, or thro' any *social* or *natural affection* of any kind: when, perhaps, the main springs of this machine will be found to be either these very *natural affections* themselves, or a compound kind deriv'd from them, and retaining more than one half of their nature.

BUT here (my Friend!) you must not expect that Sect. 3. I shou'd draw you up a formal * *scheme* of the *passions*, or pretend to shew you their *genealogy* and *relation*; how they are interwoven with one another, or interfere with our happiness and interest. 'Twou'd be out of the genius and compass of such a letter as this, to frame a just *plan* or *model*; by which you might, with an accurate view, observe what proportion the *friendly* and *natural affections* seem to bear in this order of architecture.

MODERN projectors, I know, wou'd willingly rid their hands of these *natural* materials; and wou'd fain build after a more uniform way. They wou'd new-frame the human heart; and have a mighty fancy to reduce all its motions, ballances, and weights, to that one principle and foundation of a cool and deliberate *selfishness*. Men, it seems, are unwilling to think they can be so outwitted, and impos'd on by nature, as to be made to serve her purposes, rather than their own. They are ashamed to be drawn thus out of *themselves*, and forc'd from what they esteem their *true interest*.

THERE has been in all times a sort of narrow-minded philosophers, who have thought to set this difference to rights, by conquering *nature* in themselves. A primitive father and founder among these, saw well this power of † *nature*, and understood it so far, that he earnestly exhorted his followers neither to beget children, nor serve their country. There was no dealing with nature, it seems, while these alluring objects stood in the way. *Relations*, *friends*, *countrymen*, *laws*, *politick constitutions*, *the beauty of order and government*, and *the interest of society and mankind*, were objects which, he well saw, wou'd *naturally* raise a stronger affection than any

* See the fourth treatise, viz. *Inquiry concerning virtue*.
VOL. II.

† *Supra*, p. 34. And VOL. II. 53. VOL. III. 26, 27, &c.

Part 3. which was grounded upon the narrow bottom of mere SELF. His advice, therefore, not to marry, nor engage at all in the publick, was wise, and suitable to his design. There was no way to be truly a disciple of this philosophy, but to leave family, friends, country, and society, *to cleave to it*.—And, in good earnest, who wou'd not, if it were *happiness* to do so?—The philosopher, however, was *kind*, in telling us his thought, 'Twas a token of his *fatherly love* of mankind.

* *Tu Pater, & rerum Inventor! Tu patria nobis Suppeditas praecepta! ———*

BUT the revivers of this philosophy in latter days, appear to be of a lower genius. They seem to have understood less of this force of nature, and thought to alter *the thing*, by shifting a *name*. They wou'd so explain all the social passions, and natural affections, as to denominate 'em of † *the selfish kind*. Thus civility, hospitality, humanity towards strangers or people in distress, is only *a more deliberate selfishness*. An honest heart is only *a more cunning one*: and honesty and good nature, *a more deliberate, or better-regulated self-love*. The love of kindred, children and posterity, is purely *love of self*, and of *one's own immediate blood*: as if, by this reckoning, all mankind were not included; *all* being of *one blood*, and join'd by inter-marriages and alliances; as they have been transplanted in colonys, and mix'd one with another. And thus *love of one's country*, and *love of mankind*, must also be *self-love*. *Magnanimity* and *courage*, no doubt, are modifications of this universal *self-love*! For ‡ *courage* (says our mo-

* Lucret. lib. 3.

† *Supra*, p. 60. And VOL. II. p. 208.

‡ Sudden courage (says Mr. HOBBS, *Lev. chap. 6*) is *anger*. Therefore *courage* consider'd as constant, and belonging to a character, must, in his account, be defin'd *constant anger*, or *anger constantly returning*.

dern philosopher) is *constant anger*. And all * men (says a witty Poet) *wou'd be cowards if they durst*. Sect. 3.

THAT the Poet, and the Philosopher both, were *cowards*, may be yielded perhaps without dispute. They may have spoken the best of their knowledg. But for *true courage*, it has so little to do with *anger*, that there lies always the strongest suspicion against it, where this passion is highest. The *true* courage is the *cool* and *calm*. The bravest of men have the least of a brutal bullying insolence; and in the very time of danger are found the most serene, pleasant, and free. Rage, we know, can make a coward forget himself and fight. But what is done in *fury*, or *anger*, can never be plac'd to the account of *courage*. Were it otherwise, womankind might claim to be the *stoutest* sex: for their hatred and anger have ever been allow'd the strongest and most lasting.

OTHER authors there have been of a yet inferior kind: a sort of † distributors and petty retailers of this wit; who have run changes, and divisions, without end, upon this article of *self-love*. You have the very same thought spun out a hundred ways, and drawn into motto's, and devises, to set forth this riddle; that "act as disinterestedly or generously as you please, *self* still is at the bottom, and nothing else." Now if these gentlemen, who delight so much in the play of words, but are cautious how they grapple closely with definitions, wou'd tell us only

* Lord ROCHESTER. *Satir against man.*

† The French translator supposes with good reason, that our Author, in this passage, had an eye to those sentences, or maxims, which pass under the name of the Duke DE LA ROCHEFOUCAULT. He has added, withal, the censure of this kind of wit, and of these maxims in particular, by some authors of the same nation. The passages are too long to insert here: tho they are otherwise very just and entertaining. That which he has cited of old MONTAGNE, is from the first chapter of his second essay.

Part 3. * what *self-interest* was, and determine *happiness* and *good*, there would be an end of this enigmatical wit. For in this we shou'd all agree, that happiness was to be pursu'd, and in fact was always sought after: but whether found in *following nature*, and giving way to *common affection*; or in suppressing it, and turning every passion towards *private advantage*, a narrow *self-end*, or the preservation of *mere life*; this wou'd be the matter in debate between us. The question wou'd not be, "Who lov'd himself, or who *not*:" but "who lov'd and serv'd himself the *rightest*, and after the truest manner."

'Tis the height of wisdom, no doubt, to be rightly *selfish*. And to value *life*, as far as life is good, belongs as much to courage as to discretion. But a wretched life is no wise man's wish. To be without *honesty*, is, in effect to be without *natural affection* or *sociableness* of any kind. And a life without *natural affection*, *friendship*, or *sociableness*, wou'd be found a wretched one, were it to be try'd. 'Tis as these feelings and affections are intrinsically valuable and worthy, that *self-interest* is to be rated and esteem'd. A man is by nothing so much *himself*, as by his *temper*, and *the character of his passions and affections*. If he loses what is manly and worthy in these, he is as much lost to himself as when he loses his memory and understanding. The least step into villany or baseness, changes the character and value of a life. He who wou'd preserve life at any rate, must abuse *himself* more than any-one can abuse him. And if life be not a dear thing indeed, he who has refus'd to live a villain, and has prefer'd death to a base action, has been a gainer by the bargain.

S E C T. IV.

'TIS well for you (my Friend!) that in your education you have had little to do with the

* VOL. II. p. 16, 17, &c. 51, 52, 53. &c. 57, &c. 91, 92, &c.

* *philosophy*, or *philosophers* of our days. A good Sect. 4. Poet, and an honest Historian, may afford learning enough for a *Gentleman*. And such a one, whilst he reads these authors as his diversion, will have a truer relish of their sense, and understand 'em better than a *pedant*, with all his labours, and the assistance of his volumes of commentators. I am sensible, that of old 'twas the custom to send the youth of highest quality to *Philosophers* to be form'd. 'Twas in their schools, in their company, and by their precepts and example, that the illustrious pupils were inur'd to hardship, and exercis'd in the severest courses of temperance and self-denial. By such an early discipline, they were fitted for the command of others; to maintain their country's honour in war, rule wisely in the state, and fight against luxury and corruption in times of prosperity and peace. If any of these arts are comprehended in *university-learning*, 'tis well. But as some universities in the world are now model'd, they seem not so very effectual to these purposes, nor so fortunate in preparing for a right practice of the world, or a just knowledg of men and things. Had you been thorow-pac'd in the *ethicks* or *politicks* of the schools, I shou'd never have thought of writing a word to you upon *common sense*, or *the love of mankind*. I shou'd not have † cited the Poet's *dulce & decorum*. Nor, if I had made a character for you, as he for his noble friend, shou'd I have crown'd it with his

‡ *Non ille pro caris amicis,*

Aut patria timidus perire.

OUR philosophy now-a-days, runs after the manner of that able sophister, who said, || "*Skin for skin: all that a man has will he give for his life.*"

* Our Author, it seems, writes at present, as to a young Gentleman chiefly of a court-breeding. See, however, his further sentiments more particularly in treatise third, (viz. *SOLILOQUI*;) *infra*, p. 224, &c. in the notes.

† *Sup. p. 69.* ‡ *Hor. l. 4. od. 9.* || *JOB, c. ii. v. 4.*

Part 3.

'Tis orthodox divinity, as well as sound philosophy, with some men, to rate *life* by the number and exquisiteness of the *pleasing sensations*. These they constantly set in opposition to *dry virtue* and *honesty*. And upon this foot, they think it proper to call all men fools, who wou'd hazard a *life*, or part with any of these *pleasing sensations*; except on the condition of being repaid in the same coin, and with good interest into the bargain. Thus, it seems, we are to learn virtue by usury; and enhance the value of *life*, and of the *pleasures of sense*, in order to be wise, and to *live well*.

BUT you (my Friend!) are stubborn in this point: and instead of being brought to think mournfully of death, or to repine at the loss of what you may sometimes hazard by your honesty, you can laugh at such maxims as these; and divert your-self with the improv'd selfishness, and philosophical cowardice of these fashionable moralists. You will not be taught to value *life* at their rate, or degrade HONESTY as they do, who make it only a *name*. You are persuaded there is something more in the thing than *fashion* or *applause*; that WORTH and MERIT are substantial, and no way variable by *fancy* or *will*; and that HONOUR is as much it-self, when acting *by it-self*, and *unseen*, as when *seen*, and applauded by all the world.

SHOU'D one, who had the countenance of a Gentleman, ask me, "Why I wou'd avoid being *nasty*, "when nobody was present." In the first place I shou'd be fully satisfy'd that he himself was a very nasty Gentleman who cou'd ask this question; and that it wou'd be a hard matter for me to make him ever conceive what *true cleanliness* was. However, I might, notwithstanding this, be contented to give him a slight answer, and say, "'Twas because I had "a nose." Shou'd he trouble me farther, and ask again, "What if I had a cold?" "Or what if naturally I had no such nice smell?" I might answer perhaps, "That I car'd as little to see my-self

"nasty, as that others shou'd see me in that condition." But what if it were *in the dark*? Sect. 4.

Why even then, tho I had neither nose, nor eyes, my *sense* of the matter wou'd still be the same; my nature wou'd rise at the thought of what was *fordid*: or if it did not; I shou'd have a wretched nature indeed, and *hate my-self* for a beast. *Honour my-self* I never cou'd; whilst I had no better a *sense* of what, in reality, I ow'd my-self, and what became me, as a *human creature*.

MUCH in the same manner have I heard it ask'd, *Why shou'd a man be honest in the dark*? What a man must be to ask this question, I won't say. But for those who have no better a reason for being *honest* than the fear of a *gibbet* or a *jail*; I shou'd not, I confess, much covet their company, or acquaintance. And if any guardian of mine who had kept his trust, and given me back my estate when I came of age, had been discovered to have acted thus, thro *fear* only of what might happen to him; I shou'd for my own part, undoubtedly, continue civil and respectful to him: but for my opinion of his worth, it wou'd be such as the PYTHIAN God had of his votary, who *devoutly fear'd* him, and *therefore* restor'd to a friend what had been deposited in his hands.

* *Reddidit ergo metu, non moribus; & tamen omnem Vocem adyti dignam temple, veramque probavit, Extinctus tota pariter cum prole domoque.*

I KNOW very well that many services to the publick are done merely for the sake of a *gratuity*; and that *informers*, in particular, are to be taken care of, and sometimes made *pensioners of state*. But I must beg pardon for the particular thoughts I may have of these gentlemens merit; and shail never bestow my esteem on any other than the *voluntary* discoverers of villany, and *heartly* prosecutors of their country's interest. And in this respect, I know no-

* Juv. Sat. 13.

Part 4. thing greater or nobler than the undertaking and managing some important accusation; by which some high criminal of state, or some form'd body of conspirators against the publick, may be arraign'd and brought to punishment, through the honest zeal and publick affection of a private man.

I KNOW too, that the mere vulgar of mankind often stand in need of such a rectifying object as *the gallosus* before their eyes. Yet I have no belief, that any man of a liberal education, or common honesty, ever needed to have recourse to this idea in his mind, the better to restrain him from playing the knave. And if A SAINT had no other virtue than what was rais'd in him by the same objects of reward and punishment, in a more distant state; I know not whose love or esteem he might gain besides: but for my own part, I shou'd never think him worthy of mine.

*Nec furtum feci, nec fugi, si mihi dicat
Servus: Habes pretium, loris non ureris, ais.
Non hominem occidi: Non pasces in cruce corvos.
Sum bonus & frugi: Renuit, negat atque Sabellus.*
HOR. *Epist.* 16.

PART IV.

SECT. I.

BY this time (my Friend!) you may possibly, I hope, be satisfy'd, that as I am in earnest in defending *raillery*, so I can be sober too in the use of it. 'Tis in reality a serious study, to learn to temper and regulate that *humour* which nature has given us, as a more lenitive remedy against vice, and a kind of specifick against superstition and melancholy delusion. There is a great difference between

seeking how to raise a laugh from every thing ; and Sect. I. seeking, in every thing, what justly may be laugh'd at. For nothing is ridiculous except what is deform'd : nor is any thing proof against *raillery*, except what is handfom and just. And therefore 'tis the hardest thing in the world, to deny *fair HONESTY* the use of this weapon, which can never bear an edge against her-self, and bears against every thing contrary.

IF the very *Italian* buffoons were to give us the rule in these cases, we shou'd learn by them, that in their lowest and most scurrilous way of wit, there was nothing so successfully to be play'd upon, as the passions of cowardice and avarice. One may defy the world to turn real *bravery* or *generosity* into ridicule. A glutton or mere sensualist, is as ridiculous as the other two characters. Nor can an unaffected *temperance* be made the subject of contempt to any besides the grossest and most contemptible of mankind. Now these *three* ingredients make up a virtuous character : as *the contrary three* a vicious one. How therefore can we possibly make a jest of honesty ? — To laugh *both* ways, is nonsensical. And if the ridicule lie against *fottishness*, *avarice*, and *cowardice* ; you see the consequence. A man must be soundly ridiculous, who, with all the wit imaginable, wou'd go about to ridicule wisdom, or laugh at honesty, or good manners.

A MAN of thorow * *good-breeding*, what ever else he be, is incapable of doing a rude or brutal action. He never *deliberates* in this case, or considers of the matter by prudential rules of self-interest and advantage. He acts from his nature, in a manner necessarily, and without reflection : and if he did not, it were impossible for him to answer his character, or be found that truly well-bred man, on every occasion. 'Tis the same with the *honest man*. He can't deliberate in the case of a plain villany. A

* VOL. III. p. 111, 112.

Part 4. *plum* is no temptation to him. He likes and loves himself too well, to change hearts with one of those corrupt miscreants, who amongst 'em gave that name to a round sum of money gain'd by rapine and plunder of the commonwealth. He who would enjoy *a freedom of mind*, and be truly *possessor of himself*, must be above the thought of stooping to what is villainous or base. He, on the other side, who has a heart to stoop, must necessarily quit the thought of *manliness, resolution, friendship, merit, and a character with himself and others*: but to affect these enjoyments and advantages, together with the privileges of a licentious principle; to pretend to enjoy *society, and a free mind*, in company with a *knaveish heart*, is as ridiculous as the way of children, who eat their cake, and afterwards cry for it. When men begin to *deliberate* about dishonesty, and finding it go less against their stomach, ask sily, "Why they shou'd stick at a good piece of knavery, for a good sum?" They shou'd be told, as children, that *they can't eat their cake, and have it*.

WHEN men, indeed, are become *accomplish'd knaves*, they are past crying for their cake. They *know themselves*, and are *known* by mankind. 'Tis not *these* who are so much envy'd, or admir'd. The *moderate* kind are the more taking with us. Yet had we sense, we shou'd consider 'tis in reality the *thorow profligate knave*, the very *complete unnatural villain* alone, who can any way bid for happiness with the *honest man*. True interest is wholly on one side, or the other. All between is * inconsistency, irresolution, remorse, vexation, and an ague-fit:

* Our Author's French translator cites, on this occasion, very aptly those verses of HORACE, *Sat. 7. lib. 2.*

Quanto constantior idem
In vitis, tanto levius miser, ac prior illo
Qui jam contento, jam laxo fune laborat.

from hot to cold ; from one passion to another quite Sect. 1.
contrary ; a perpetual discord of life ; and an al-
ternate disquiet and self-dislike. The only rest or
repose must be thro *one*, determin'd, considerate
resolution : which when once taken, must be cou-
rageously kept ; and the passions and affections
brought under obedience to it ; the temper steel'd
and harden'd to the mind ; the disposition to the
judgment. Both must agree ; else all must be di-
sturbance and confusion. So that to think with
one's self, in good earnest, " Why may not one do
" this *little* villany, or commit this one treachery,
" and but for *once*:" is the most ridiculous imagi-
nation in the world, and contrary to COMMON
SENSE. For a common honest man, whilst left to
himself, and undisturb'd by philosophy and subtle
reasonings about his interest, gives no other answer
to the thought of villany, than that *he can't*
possibly find in his heart to set about it, or conquer
the natural aversion he has to it. And this is *natu-
ral*, and *just*.

THE truth is ; as notions stand now in the world,
with respect to morals, honesty is like to gain little
by philosophy, or deep speculations of any kind.
In the main, 'tis best to stick to *common sense*, and
go no further. Mens first thoughts, in this matter,
are generally better than their second : their na-
tural notions better than those refin'd by study, or
consultation with *casuists*. According to common
speech, as well as common sense, *honesty is the best*
policy : but according to refin'd sense, the only *well-
advis'd* persons, as to this world, are *errant knaves* ;
and they alone are thought to serve themselves, who
serve their passions, and indulge their loosest appetites
and desires. — Such, it seems, are *the wise*, and
such *the wisdom of this world* !

AN ordinary man talking of a vile action, in a
way of *common sense*, says naturally and heartily,
" He wou'd not be guilty of such a thing for the

Part 4. “whole world.” But *speculative men* find great modifications in the case; many ways of evasion; many remedys; many alleviations. A good gift *rightly* apply'd; a *right* method of suing out a pardon; good alms-houses, and charitable foundations erected for *right* worshippers; and a good zeal shewn for the *right belief*, may sufficiently atone for *one wrong practice*; especially when it is such as raises a man to a considerable power (as they say) of *doing good*, and serving *the true cause*.

MANY a good estate, many a high station has been gain'd upon such a bottom as this. Some *crowns* too may have been purchas'd on these terms: and some great * *emperors*, (if I mistake not) there have been of old, who were much assisted by these or the like principles; and in return were not ingrateful to the cause and party which had assisted 'em. The forgers of such morals have been amply endow'd: and the world has paid roundly for its philosophy; since the original plain principles of humanity, and the simple honest precepts of *peace* and *mutual love*, have, by a sort of spiritual chymists, been so sublimated, as to become the highest corrosives; and passing through their limbecks, have yielded the strongest spirit of *mutual hatred* and *malignant persecution*.

S E C T. II.

BUT our humours (my Friend!) incline us not to melancholy reflections. Let the *solemn* reprovers of vice proceed in the manner most suitable to their genius and character. I am ready to congratulate with 'em on the success of their labours, in that authoritative way which is allow'd 'em. I know not, in the mean while, why others may not be allow'd to *ridicule* folly, and recommend wisdom

* VOL. III. p. 56, 57, 64, 65.

and virtue (if possibly they can) in a way of plea- Sect. 2.
santry and mirth. I know not why poets, or such
as write chiefly for the entertainment of themselves
and others, may not be allow'd this privilege. And
if it be the complaint of our *standing reformers*, that
they are not heard so well by the *gentlemen of fash-*
ion; if they exclaim against those airy wits who fly to
ridicule as a protection, and make successful fallys
from that quarter; why shou'd it be deny'd one,
who is only a *volunteer* in this cause, to engage the
adversary on his own terms, and expose himself
willingly to such attacks, on the single condition of
being allow'd *fair play* in the same kind?

By *gentlemen of fashion*, I understand those to
whom a natural good genius, or the force of good
education, has given a *sense* of what is *naturally*
graceful and *becoming*. Some by mere nature, others
by art and practice, are masters of an ear in musick,
an eye in painting, a fancy in the ordinary things of
ornament and grace, a judgment in proportions of
all kinds, and a general good taste in most of those
subjects which make the amusement and delight of
the ingenious people of the world. Let such gentle-
men as these be as extravagant as they please, or as
irregular in their morals; they must at the same
time discover their inconsistency, live at variance with
themselves, and in contradiction to that principle, on
which they ground their highest pleasure and enter-
tainment.

OF all other beautys which *Virtuoso's* pursue,
Poets celebrate, *Musicians* sing, and *Architects* or
Artists, of whatever kind, describe or form; the
most delightful, the most engaging and pathetick, is
that which is drawn from real *life*, and from the *pas-*
sions. Nothing affects the heart like that which is
purely *from it-self*, and *of its own nature*; such as
the beauty of sentiments; *the grace of actions*; *the*
turn of characters, and *the proportions and features*
of a human mind. This lesson of philosophy, even
a romance, a poem, or a play may teach us; whilst

Part 4. the fabulous author leads us with such pleasure thro the labyrinth of the affections, and interests us, whether we will or no, in the passions of his heroes and heroines :

* ————— *Angit,*
Irritat, mulcet, falsis terroribus implet,
Ut Magus.

LET Poets, or the men of harmony, deny, if they can, this force of *nature*, or withstand this *moral magick*. They, for their parts, carry a double portion of this charm about 'em. For in the first place, the very passion which inspires 'em, is it self *the love of numbers, decency and proportion* ; and this too, not in a narrow sense, or after a *selfish* way (for who of them composes for *himself*?) but in a friendly social view ; for the pleasure and good of others ; even down to posterity, and future ages. And in the next place, 'tis evident in these performers, that their chief theme and subject, that which raises their genius the most, and by which they so effectually move others, is purely *manners*, and the *moral part*. For this is the effect, and this the beauty of their art ; “ in vocal measures of syllables, “ and sounds, to express the harmony and numbers “ of an inward kind ; and represent the beautys of “ a human soul, by proper foils, and contrarietys, “ which serve as graces in this limning, and render “ this musick of the passions more powerful and “ enchanting.”

THE admirers of beauty in the fair sex, wou'd laugh, perhaps, to hear of a *moral part* in their amours. Yet, what a stir is made about a *heart* ! What curious search of *sentiments*, and tender *thoughts* ! What praises of a *humour*, a *sense*, a *je-ne-sçai-quoi* of *wit*, and all those *graces* of a *mind*, which these virtuoso-lovers delight to celebrate !

Let them settle this matter among themselves; and Sect. 2. regulate, as they think fit, the proportions which these different beauties hold one to another: they must allow still, there is a beauty of *the mind*; and such as is essential in the case. Why else is the very *air of foolishness* enough to cloy a lover, at first sight? Why does an *idiot-look* and *manner* destroy the effect of all those outward charms, and rob the *fair-one* of her power; tho regularly arm'd, in all the exactness of feature and complexion? We may imagine what we please of a substantial solid part of beauty: but were the subject to be well criticiz'd, we shou'd find, perhaps, that what we most admir'd, even in the turn of *outward* features, was only a mysterious expression, and a kind of shadow of something *inward* in the temper: and that when we were struck with a *majestick* air, a *sprightly look*, an *Amazon bold* Grace, or a contrary *soft* and *gentle* one; 'twas chiefly the fancy of these characters or qualities which wrought on us: our imagination being busi'd in forming beauteous shapes and images of this rational kind, which entertain'd the mind, and held it in admiration; whilst other passions of a lower species were employ'd another way. The preliminary addresses, the declarations, the explanations, confidences, clearings; the dependence on something mutual, something felt by way of return; the *Spes animi credula mutui*: all these become necessary ingredients in the affair of love, and are authentically establish'd by the men of elegance and art in this way of passion.

NOR can the men of cooler passions, and more deliberate pursuits, withstand the force of *beauty*, in other subjects. Every-one is a *virtuoso*, of a higher or lower degree: every-one pursues a *GRACE*, and courts a * *VENUS* of one kind or another. The *venustum*, the *honestum*, the *decorum* of things, will force its way. They who refuse to give it scope in

* *Infra*, page 227.

Part 4. the nobler subjects of a rational and moral kind, will find its prevalency elsewhere, in an * inferior order of things. They who overlook the *main* springs of action, and despise the thought of numbers and proportion in a *life at large*, will in the mean *particulars* of it, be no less taken up, and engag'd; as either in the study of common arts, or in the care and culture of mere mechanick beautys. The models of houses, buildings, and their accompanying ornaments; the plans of gardens and their compartments; the ordering of walks, plantations, avenues; and a thousand other symmetrys, will succeed in the room of that happier and higher symmetry and order of a mind. The † *species* of fair, noble, handsome, will discover it-self on a thousand occasions, and in a thousand subjects. The *specter* still will haunt us, in some shape or other: and when driven from our cool thoughts, and frighted from *the closet*, will meet us even *at court*, and fill our heads with dreams of grandure, titles, honours, and a false magnificence and beauty; to which we are ready to sacrifice our highest pleasure and ease; and for the sake of which, we become the merest drudges, and most abject slaves.

THE men of pleasure, who seem the greatest contempters of this philosophical beauty, are forc'd often to confess her charms. They can as heartily as others commend *honesty*; and are as much struck with the beauty of a *generous part*. They admire the thing it-self; tho not the means. And, if possible, they wou'd so order it, as to make probity and luxury agree. But the rules of harmony will not permit it. The dissonancys are too strong. However, the attempts of this kind are not unpleasant to observe. For tho some of the voluptuous are found sordid pleaders for baseness and corruption of every sort: yet others, more generous, endeavour to keep measures with honesty; and understanding pleasure

* VOL. III. p. 119.

† VOL. III. p. 26, 125, — 118.

better, are for bringing it under some rule. They Sect. 2. condemn *this* manner : they praise *the other*. " So far was *right* : but further, *wrong*. Such a case " was allowable : but such a one, not to be admitted." They introduce a *justice*, and an *order* in their pleasures. They would bring *Reason* to be of their party, account in some manner for their lives, and form themselves to some kind of consonancy, and agreement : or shou'd they find this impracticable on certain terms, they would chuse to sacrifice their other pleasures to those which arise from a generous behaviour, a regularity of conduct, and a consistency of life and manners :

* *Et veræ numerosque modosque ediscere vitæ.*

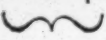
OTHER occasions will put us upon this thought : but chiefly a strong view of *merit*, in a *generous character*, oppos'd to some detestably *vile one*. Hence it is that among Poets, the *Satirists* seldom fail in doing justice to VIRTUE. Nor are any of the nobler Poets false to this cause. Even modern wits, whose turn is all towards gallantry and pleasure, when bare-fac'd *villany* stands in their way, and brings the contrary species in view, can sing in passionate strains the praises of plain *honesty*.

WHEN we are highly friends with the world, successful with the fair, and prosperous in the possession of other beautys ; we may perchance, as is usual, despise this sober mistress. But when we see, in the issue, what *riot* and *excess* naturally produce in the world ; when we find that by *luxury's* means, and for the service of vile interests, knaves are advanc'd above us, and the † vilest of men prefer'd before the honestest ; we then behold VIRTUE in a new light, and by the assistance of such a foil, can discern the beauty of *honesty*, and the reality of those charms, which before we understood not to be either natural or powerful.

* Hor. *Epist.* 2. lib. 2.

† Vol. III. p. 210.

S E C T. III.

Part 4.  **A**ND thus, after all, the most natural beauty in the world is *honesty*, and *moral truth*. For all *beauty is TRUTH*. *True* features make the beauty of a face; and true proportions the beauty of architecture; as *true* measures that of harmony and musick. In poetry, which is all fable, *truth* still is the perfection. And whoever is scholar enough to read the antient philosopher, or his * modern copists, upon the nature of a dramattick and epick poem, will easily understand † this account of *truth*.

A PAINTER, if he has any genius, understands the *truth* and unity of design; and knows he is even then unnatural, when he follows nature too close, and strictly copies *life*. For his art allows him not to bring *all* nature into his piece, but a *part* only. However, his piece, if it be beautiful, and carries *truth*, must be a *whole*, by it-self, complete, independent, and withal as *great* and comprehensive as he can make it. So that particulars, on this occasion, must yield to the general design; and all things be subservient to that which is principal: in order to form a certain *easiness of sight*; a simple, clear, and ‡ *united view*, which wou'd be broken and di-

* The *French* translator, no doubt, has justly hit our author's thought, by naming in his margin the excellent BOSSU de *Peeme Epique*; who in that admirable comment and explanation of ARISTOTLE, has perhaps not only shewn himself the greatest of the *French* criticks, but presented the world with a view of antient literature and just writing, beyond any other modern of whatever nation.

† VOL. III. p. 124, 125, 126, 177, &c.

‡ The το Εὐζώνοτον; as the great master of arts calls it, in his *Poeticks*, *ch.* 23. but particularly, *ch.* 7. where he shews, " That the το Καλον, the beautiful, or the sublime, in these above-mention'd arts, is from the expression of *greatness* with *order*: that is to say, exhibit-

Turb'd by the expression of any thing peculiar, or Sect. 3.
 distinct.

Now the variety of nature is such, as to distinguish every thing she forms, by a *peculiar* original character; which, if strictly observ'd, will make the subject appear unlike to any thing extant in the world besides. But this effect the good Poet and Painter

ing the *principal* or *main* of what is design'd, in the very largest proportions in which it is capable of being view'd. For when it is gigantick, 'tis in a manner out of sight, and can be no way comprehended in that simple and *united view*. As, on the contrary, when a piece is of the miniature kind; when it runs into the *detail*, and nice delineation of every little particular; 'tis, as it were, invisible, for the same reason: because the *summary beauty*, the *WHOLE* it-self cannot be comprehended in that *ONE united view*; which is broken and lost by the necessary attraction of the eye to every small and subordinate part. In a poetick system, the same regard must be had to the memory, as in painting, to the eye. The dramatick kind is confin'd within the convenient and proper time of a spectacle. The epick is left more at large. Each work, however, must aim at *vastness*, and be as *great*, and of as long duration as possible; but so as to be comprehended (as to the main of it) by one easy *glance* or retrospect of memory. And this the philosopher calls, accordingly, the *το 'Ευμνημονευτον*." I cannot better translate the passage than as I have done in these explanatory lines. For besides what relates to mere art, the philosophical sense of the original is so majestick, and the whole treatise so masterly, that when I find even the *Latin* interpreters come so short, I shou'd be vain to attempt any thing in our own language. I wou'd only add a small remark of my own, which may perhaps be notic'd by the studiers of statuary and painting: that the greatest of the antient as well as modern artists, were ever inclin'd to follow this rule of the philosopher; and when they err'd in their *designs*, or *draughts*, it was on the side of *greatness*, by running into the unfix-

Part 4. seek industriously to prevent. They hate *minuteness*, and are afraid of *singularity*; which wou'd make their images, or characters, appear capricious and fantastical. The mere face-painter, indeed, has little in common with the poet; but, like the mere historian, copies what he sees, and minutely traces every feature, and odd mark. 'Tis otherwise with the men of invention and design. 'Tis from the *many* objects of nature, and not from a *particular one*, that those genius's form the idea of their work. Thus the best artists are said to have been indefatigable in studying the best statues: as esteeming them a better rule, than the perfectest human bodys cou'd afford. And thus some considerable * wits have recommended the best poems, as preferable to the best of historys; and better teaching the *truth* of characters, and nature of mankind.

NOR can this criticism be thought high-strained. Tho few confine themselves to these rules, few are insensible of 'em. Whatever quarter we may give to our vicious poets, or other composers of irregular

able and gigantick, rather than into the *minute* and delicate. Of this MICH. ANGELO, the great beginner and founder among the moderns, and ZEUXIS the same among the antients, may serve as instances. See PLINY, l. 35. c. 9. concerning ZEUXIS, and the notes of father MAR- DUIN in his edition *in usum Delphini*, page 200. on the words, *Deprehenditur tamen Zeuxis, &c.* And again PLINY himself upon EUPHRANOR, in the same book, c. 11. p. 226. *Docilis, ac laboriosus, ante omnes, & in quocumque genere excellens, ac sibi aequalis. Hic primus videtur expressisse dignitates heroum, & usurpasse symmetriam. Sed fuit universitate corporum exilior, capitibus articulisque grandior. Volumina quoque composuit de symmetria & coloribus, &c.* Vid. *infra*, p. 229, 230. in the notes.

* Thus the great Master himself in his *Poeticks*, above cited; Διὸ καὶ φιλοσοφώτερον καὶ σπουδαιότερον Ποιῆσις ἰσορρίας ἐστίν. ἢ μὲν γὰρ Ποίησις μάλλον τὰ καθόλου, ἢ δ' ἰσορρία τὰ καθ' ἑκάστον λέγει. Κεφ. θ.

and short-liv'd works ; we know very well that the Sect. 3.
standing pieces of good artists must be form'd after
a more uniform way. Every just work of theirs comes
under those natural rules of proportion, and *truth*.
The creature of their brain must be like one of na-
ture's formation. It must have a body and parts
proportionable : or the very vulgar will not fail to
criticize the work, when *it has neither * head nor*
tail. For so *common sense* (according to just philo-
sophy) judges of those works which want the justness
of a *whole*, and shew their author, however curious
and exact in particulars, to be in the main a very
bungler :

† *Infelix operis SUMMA, quia ponere TOTUM*
Nescit.

SUCH is *poetical*, and such (if I may so call it)
graphical, or *plastick truth*. Narrative, or *histori-*
cal truth, must needs be highly estimable ; especial-
ly when we consider how mankind, who are become
so deeply interested in the subjects, have suffer'd by
the want of clearness in it. 'Tis it-self a part of
moral truth. To be a judg in *one*, requires a judg-
ment in *the other*. The morals, the character, and
genius of an author, must be thorowly consider'd :
and the historian or relater of things important to
mankind, must, whoever he be, approve himself
many ways to us ; both in respect of his judgment,
candour, and disinterestedness ; e'er we are bound to
take any thing on his authority. And as for ‡ *cri-*
tical truth ; or the judgment and determination of
what commentators, translators, paraphrasts, gram-
marians, and others have, on this occasion, deliver'd
to us ; in the midst of such variety of stile, such dif-
ferent readings, such interpolations, and corruptions
in the originals ; such mistakes of copists, transcrib-
ers, editors, and a hundred such accidents, to which

* VOL. III. p. 21, 177. † Hor. *Epist.* 3. l. 2.

‡ VOL. III. p. 215, 217, 218, &c.

Part 4. antient books are subject: it becomes, upon the whole, *a matter of nice speculation*; considering, withal, that the reader, tho' an able linguist, must be supported by so many other helps from chronology, natural philosophy, geography, and other sciences.

AND thus many previous *truths* are to be examined, and understood, in order to judg rightly of *historical truth*, and of the past actions and circumstances of mankind, as deliver'd to us by antient authors of different nations, ages, times, and different in their characters and interelts. Some *moral* and *philosophical truths* there are withal so evident in themselves, that 'twou'd be easier to imagine half mankind to have run mad, and join'd precisely in one and the same species of folly, than to admit any thing as *truth*, which shou'd be advanc'd against such *natural knowledg*, *fundamental reason*, and *common sense*.

THIS I have mention'd the rather, because some modern zealots appear to have no better knowledg of TRUTH, nor better manner of judging it, than by *counting noses*. By this rule, if they can poll an inditterent number out of a *mob*; if they can produce a set of *Lancashire* noddles, remote provincial head-pieces, or visionary assemblers, to attest a story of *a witch upon a broomstick*, and *a flight in the air*; they triumph in the solid proof of their new prodigy, and cry, *Magna est veritas, & praevalabit!*

RELIGION, no doubt, is much indebted to these men of prodigy; who, in such a discerning age, wou'd set her on the foot of popular tradition; and venture her on the same bottom with parish-tales, and gossipping storys of *imps*, *goblins*, and *demoniacal pranks*, invented to fright children, or make practice for common exorcists, and *cunning-men*! For by that name, you know, country people are used to call those dealers in mystery, who are thought to conjure in an *honest way*, and foil the devil at his own weapon.

AND now (my Friend!) I can perceive 'tis time

to put an end to these reflections; least by endeavour-
ing to expound things any further, I shou'd be drawn
from my way of *humour*, to harangue profoundly on
these subjects. But shou'd you find I had moraliz'd
in any tolerable manner, according to *common sense*,
and without *canting*; I cou'd be satisfy'd with my
performance, such as it is, without fearing what dis-
turbance I might possibly give to some formal *censors*
of the age; whose discourses and writings are of ano-
ther strain. I have taken the liberty, you see, to
laugh, upon some occasions: and if I have either
laugh'd wrong, or been impertinently serious; I can
be content to be *laugh'd at*, in my turn. If contra-
rily I am rail'd at, I can *laugh* still, as before;
and with fresh advantage to my cause. For tho, in
reality, there cou'd be nothing less a laughing matter,
than the provok'd rage, ill-will, and fury of certain
zealous gentlemen, were they arm'd as lately they
have been known; yet as the magistrate has since
taken care to pare their talons, there is nothing very
terrible in their encounter. On the contrary, there
is something comical in the case. It brings to one's
mind the fancy of those grotesque figures, and dra-
gon-faces, which are seen often in the frontispiece,
and on the corner-stones of old buildings. They
seem plac'd there, as the *defenders* and *supporters* of
the edifice; but with all their grimace, are as harm-
less to people without, as they are useless to the
building within. Great efforts of anger to little pur-
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makes the highest ridicule.

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Affectionately yours, &c.

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makes the highest ridicule.

I am, dear Friend,

Affectionately yours, &c.

S

A

TREATISE III,

VIZ.

SOLLILOQUY:

OR

ADVICE

TO AN

AUTHOR.

——— *Nec TE quaesiveris extra.*

PERS. Sat. I.

Printed first in the Year M.DCC.X.

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A D V I C E, &c.

P A R T I.

S E C T. I.

I HAVE often thought how ill-natur'd *a maxim* Sect. 1. it was, which, on many occasions, I have heard from people of good understanding; "That, as to what related to private conduct, *No-one* " *was ever the better for ADVICE.*" But upon further examination, I have resolv'd with my-self, that the *maxim* might be admitted without any violent prejudice to mankind. For in the manner *advice* was generally given, there was no reason, I thought, to wonder it shou'd be so ill receiv'd. Something there was which strangely inverted the case, and made *the giver* to be the only gainer. For by what I cou'd observe in many occurrences of our lives, That which we call'd *giving advice*, was properly, taking an occasion to shew our own wisdom, at another's expence. On the other side, to be instructed, or *to receive advice* on the terms usually prescrib'd to us, was little better than tamely to afford another the occasion of raising himself a character from our defects.

IN reality, however able or willing a man may be *to advise*, 'tis no easy matter to make ADVICE

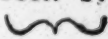
Part 1. *a free gift.* For to make a gift *free* indeed, there must be nothing in it which takes from another, to add to our-self. In all other respects, *to give*, and *to dispense*, is generosity, and good-will : but to bestow wisdom, is to gain a mastery which can't so easily be allow'd us. Men willingly learn whatever else is taught 'em. They can bear a *master* in mathematics, in musick, or in any other science ; but not in *understanding* and *good sense*.

'Tis the hardest thing imaginable for an AUTHOR not to appear assuming in this respect. For all authors at large are, in a manner, profess'd *masters of understanding* to the age. And for this reason, in early days, *Poets* were look'd upon as authentick *sages*, for dictating rules of life, and teaching manners and good sense. How they may have lost their pretension, I can't say. 'Tis their peculiar happiness and advantage, not to be oblig'd to lay their claim openly. And if whilst they profess only *to please*, they secretly *advise*, and give instruction ; they may now perhaps, as well as formerly, be esteem'd, with justice, the best and most honourable among authors.

MEAN while ; “ If *dictating* and *prescribing* be “ of so dangerous a nature, in other authors ; what “ must his case be, who dictates *to authors them-* “ *selves* ? ”

To this I answer ; That my pretension is not so much *to give advice*, as to consider of *the way and manner of advising*. My science, if it be any, is no better than that of a *language-master*, or a *logician*. For I have taken it strongly into my head, that there is a certain knack or *legerdemain* in argument, by which we may safely proceed to the dangerous part of *advising*, and make sure of the good fortune to have our advice accepted, if it be any thing worth.

My proposal is to consider of this affair, as a case of SURGERY. 'Tis *practice*, we all allow, which makes a hand. “ But who, on this occasion, will “ be *practis'd on* ? Who will willingly be the

“first to try *our hand*, and afford us the requisite Sect. 1.
experience?” Here lies the difficulty. For  supposing we had hospitals for this sort of *surgery*, and there were always in readiness certain meek *patients* who would bear any incisions, and be prob'd or tented at our pleasure; the advantage no doubt wou'd be considerable in this way of practice. Some insight must needs be obtain'd. In time *a hand* too might be acquir'd; but in all likelihood *a very rough one*: which wou'd by no means serve the purpose of this latter *surgery*. For here, *a tenderness of hand* is principally requisite. No surgeon will be call'd, who has not feeling and compassion. And where to find a subject in which the operator is likely to preserve the highest *tenderness*, and yet act with the greatest *resolution* and *boldness*, is certainly a matter of no slight consideration.

I AM sensible there is in all considerable projects, at first appearance, a certain air of chimerical fancy and conceit, which is apt to render the projectors somewhat liable to ridicule. I wou'd therefore prepare my reader against this prejudice; by assuring him, that in the *operation* propos'd, there is nothing which can justly excite his laughter; or if there be, the laugh perhaps may turn against him, by his own consent, and with his own concurrence: which is *a specimen* of that very art or science we are about to illustrate.

ACCORDINGLY, if it be objected against the above-mention'd *practice*, and art of *surgery*, “That we can no-where find such a *meek patient*, with whom we can in reality *make bold*, and for whom nevertheless we are sure to preserve *the greatest tenderness and regard*.” I assert the contrary; and say, for instance, *That we have each of us OURSELVES to practise on*. “Mere quibble! (you'll say :) For who can thus multiply himself into *two persons*, and be *his own subject*? Who can properly laugh at *himself*, or find in his heart

Part I. "to be either merry or severe on such an occasion?"

Go to the *Poets*, and they will present you with many instances. Nothing is more common with them, than this sort of *SOLILOQUY*. A person of profound parts, or perhaps of ordinary capacity, happens, on some occasion, to commit a fault. He is concern'd for it. He comes alone upon the stage; looks about him, to see if any body be near; then takes himself to task, without sparing himself in the least. You wou'd wonder to hear how close he pushes matters, and how thorowly he carries on the business of *self-diffession*. By virtue of this *SOLILOQUY* he becomes two distinct persons. He is pupil and preceptor. He teaches, and he learns. And in good earnest, had I nothing else to plead in behalf of the morals of our modern dramatick poets, I shou'd defend 'em still against their accusers for the sake of this very practice, which they have taken care to keep up in its full force. For whether the practice be *natural* or no, in respect of common custom and usage; I take upon me to assert, that it is an honest and laudable practice; and that if already it be not natural to us, we ought however to make it so, by study and application.

"ARE we to go therefore to the stage for edification? Must we learn our catechism from the poets? And, like the players, speak *aloud*, what we debate at any time with our-selves alone?" Not absolutely so perhaps. Tho where the harm wou'd be, of spending some discourse, and bestowing a little breath and clear voice purely upon *our-selves*, I can't see. We might peradventure be less noisy and more profitable in company, if at convenient times we discharg'd some of our articulate sound, and spoke to our-selves *viva voce* when alone. For company is an extreme provocative to fancy; and, like a hot bed in gardening, is apt to make our imaginations sprout too fast. But by this anticipat-

ing remedy of SOLILOQUY, we may effectually provide against the inconvenience. Sect. 1.

WE HAVE an account in history of a certain nation, who seem to have been extremely apprehensive of the effects of this frothiness or ventosity in speech, and were accordingly resolv'd to provide thoroughly against the evil. They carry'd this remedy of ours so far, that it was not only their custom, but their religion and law, to speak, laugh, use action, gesticulate, and do all in the same manner when by themselves, as when they were in company. If you had stol'n upon 'em unawares at any time, when they had been alone, you might have found 'em in high dispute, arguing with themselves, reproving, counselling, haranguing themselves, and in the most florid manner accosting their own persons. In all likelihood they had been once a people remarkably fluent in expression, much pester'd with orators and preachers, and mightily subject to that disease which has been since call'd *the leprosy of eloquence*; till some sage legislator arose amongst 'em, who when he cou'd not oppose the torrent of words, and stop the flux of speech, by any immediate application, found means to give a vent to the loquacious humour, and broke the force of the distemper by eluding it.

OUR present manners, I must own, are not so well calculated for this method of SOLILOQUY, as to suffer it to become a national practice. 'Tis but a small portion of this *regimen*, which I wou'd willingly borrow, and apply to private use; especially in the case of *authors*. I am sensible how fatal it might prove to many honourable persons, shou'd they acquire such a habit as this, or offer to practise such an art, within the reach of any mortal ear. For 'tis well known, we are not many of us like that *Roman*, who wish'd for windows to his breast, that all might be as conspicuous there as in

Part 1. his house, which for that very reason he had built as open as was possible. I wou'd therefore advise our *probationer*, upon his first exercise, to retire into some thick wood, or rather take the point of some high hill; where, besides the advantage of looking about him for security, he wou'd find the air perhaps more rarefy'd, and sutable to the perspiration requir'd, especially in the case of a *poetical genius*.

* *Scriptorum chorus omnis amat nemus, & fugit urbes.*

'Tis remarkable in all great wits, that they have own'd this practice of ours, and generally describ'd themselves as a people liable to sufficient ridicule, for their great loquacity by themselves, and their profound taciturnity in company. Not only the *Poet* and *Philosopher*, but the *Orator* himself was wont to have recourse to our method. And the prince of this latter tribe may be prov'd to have been a great frequenter of the woods and riverbanks; where he consum'd abundance of his breath, suffer'd his fancy to evaporate, and reduc'd the vehemence both of his spirit and voice. If other authors find nothing which invites 'em to these *recesses*, 'tis because their genius is not of force enough: or tho it be, their character, they may imagine, will hardly bear 'em out. For to be surpriz'd in the odd actions, gestures, or tones, which are proper to such *Asceticks*, I must own wou'd be an ill adventure for a man of the world. But with *Poets* and *Philosophers* 'tis a known case.

† *Aut insanit homo, aut versus facit.* —

COMPOSING and raving must necessarily, we see, bear a resemblance. And for those composers

* Hor. *Epist.* 2. lib. 2.

† Hor. *Sat.* 7. lib. 2.

who deal in systems, and airy speculations, they Sect. 1.
have vulgarly pass'd for a sort of *Prose-poets*. Their
secret practice and habit has been as frequently noted:

* *Murmura cum secum, & rabiosa silentia rodunt.*

Both these sorts are happily indulg'd in this method of evacuation. They are thought to act naturally, and in their proper way, when they assume these odd manners. But of other authors 'tis expected they shou'd be better bred. They are oblig'd to preserve a more conversible habit; which is no small misfortune to 'em. For if their meditation and reserve be obstructed by the fear of a nonconforming mein in conversation, they may happen to be so much the worse *authors* for being *finer gentlemen*. Their fervency of imagination may possibly be as strong as either the Philosopher's or the Poet's. But being deny'd an equal benefit of discharge, and withheld from the wholsom manner of relief in private; 'tis no wonder if they appear with so much froth and scum in publick.

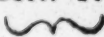
'TIS observable, that the writers of MEMOIRS and ESSAYS are chiefly subject to this frothy distemper. Nor can it be doubted that this is the true reason why these gentlemen entertain the world so lavishly with what relates to *themselves*. For having had no opportunity of privately conversing with themselves, or exercising their own *genius*, so as to make acquaintance with it, or prove its strength; they immediately fall to work in a wrong place, and exhibit on the stage of the world that *practice*, which they shou'd have kept to themselves; if they design'd that either they, or the world, shou'd be the better for their moralities. Who indeed can endure to hear an *empirick* talk of his own constitution, how he governs and manages it, what diet agrees best

* *Perf. Sat. 3.*

Part I. with it, and what his practice is with himself? The proverb, no doubt, is very just, *Physician cure thyself*. Yet methinks one shou'd have but an ill time, to be present at these bodily operations. Nor is the reader in truth any better entertain'd, when he is oblig'd to assist at the experimental discussions of his practising author, who all the while is in reality doing no better, than taking his physick in publick.

For this reason, I hold it very indecent for any one to publish his *meditations, occasional reflections, solitary thoughts*, or other such exercises as come under the notion of this *self-discoursing practice*. And the modestest title I can conceive for such works, would be that of a certain author, who call'd them his *cruditys*. 'Tis the unhappiness of those wits, who conceive suddenly, but without being able to go out their full time, that after many miscarriages and abortions, they can bring nothing well-shapen or perfect into the world. They are not however the less fond of their offspring, which in a manner they beget in publick. For so publick-spirited they are, that they can never afford themselves the least time to think in private, for their own particular benefit and use. For this reason, tho they are often retir'd, they are never *by themselves*. The world is ever of the party. They have their *author-character* in view, and are always considering how this or that thought wou'd serve to compleat some set of *contemplations*, or furnish out the common-place book, from whence these treasur'd riches are to flow in plenty on the necessitous world.

BUT if our candidates for authorship happen to be of the *sanctify'd* kind; 'tis not to be imagin'd how much farther still their charity is apt to extend. So exceeding great is their indulgence and tenderness for mankind, that they are unwilling the least sample of their devout exercise shou'd be lost. Tho there are already so many formulays and rituals

appointed for this species of *soliloquy*; they can allow nothing to lie conceal'd, which passes in this religious commerce and way of dialogue between them and their soul. Sect. 1. 

THESE may be term'd a sort of *Pseudo-asceticks*, who can have no real converse either with themselves, or with heaven; whilst they look thus askew upon the world, and carry *titles* and *editions* along with 'em in their meditations. And although the books of this sort, by a common idiom, are call'd *good books*; the authors, for certain, are a sorry race: for religious *crudities* are undoubtedly the worst of any. * A *saint*-author of all men least values politeness. He scorns to confine that spirit, in which he writes, to rules of criticism and profane learning. Nor is he inclin'd in any respect to play the critick on himself, or regulate his stile or language by the standard of good company, and people of the better sort. He is above the consideration of that which in a narrow sense we call *manners*. Nor is he apt to examine any other faults than those which he calls *sins*: tho a sinner against good-breeding, and the laws of decency, will no more be esteem'd a *good author*, than will a sinner against grammar, good argument, or good sense. And if *moderation* and *temper* are not of the party with a writer; let his cause be ever so good, I doubt whether he will be able to recommend it with great advantage to the world.

ON this account, I would principally recommend our exercise of *self-converse* to all such persons as are addicted to write after the manner of *holy advisers*; especially if they lie under an indispensable necessity of being *talkers* or *haranguers* in the same kind. For to discharge frequently and vehemently in public, is a great hindrance to the way of *private exercise*; which consists chiefly in *controul*. But where,

* VOL. III. p. 162, 163. &c. in the notes.

Part I. instead of controul, debate or argument, the chief exercise of the wit consists in uncontrollable harangues and reasonings, which must neither be questioned nor contradicted; there is great danger, lest the party, thro this habit, shou'd suffer much by cruditys, indigestions, choler, bile, and particularly by a certain *tumor* or *flatulency*, which renders him of all men the least able to apply the wholesom *regimen* of self-practice. 'Tis no wonder if such quaint practitioners grow to an enormous size of absurdity, whilst they continue in the reverse of that practice, by which alone we correct the redundancy of humours, and chasten the exuberance of conceit and fancy.

A REMARKABLE instance of the want of this sovereign remedy may be drawn from our common *great talkers*, who engross the greatest part of the conversations of the world, and are the forwardest to speak in publick assemblys. Many of these have a sprightly genius, attended with a mighty heat and ebullition of fancy. But 'tis a certain observation in our science, that they who are great talkers *in company*, have never been any talkers *by themselves*, nor us'd to these private discussions of our home *regimen*. For which reason their froth abounds. Nor can they discharge any thing without some mixture of it. But when they carry their attempts beyond ordinary discourse, and wou'd rise to the capacity of *authors*, the case grows worse with 'em. Their *page* can carry none of the advantages of their *person*. They can no way bring into paper those airs they give themselves in discourse. The turns of voice and action, with which they help out many a lame thought and incoherent sentence, must here be laid aside; and the speech taken to pieces, compared together, and examin'd from head to foot. So that unless the party has been us'd to play the critick thorowly upon himself, he will hardly be found proof against the criticisms of others. His

thoughts can never appear very correct; unless they Sect. 2. have been us'd to sound correction by themselves, and been well form'd and disciplin'd before they are brought into the field. 'Tis the hardest thing in the world to be a *good thinker*, without being a strong *self-examiner*, and *thorough-pac'd dialogist*, in this solitary way.

S E C T. II.

BUT to bring our case a little closer still to *morals*. I might perhaps very justifiably take occasion here to enter into a spacious field of learning, to shew the antiquity of that opinion, "That we have each of us a *dæmon*, *genius*, *angel*, or *guardian-spirit*, to whom we were strictly join'd, and committed, from our earliest dawn of reason, or moment of our birth." This opinion, were it literally true, might be highly serviceable, no doubt, towards the establishment of our system and doctrine. For it wou'd infallibly be prov'd a kind of sacrilege or impiety to slight the company of so divine a *guest*, and in a manner banish him our breast, by refusing to enter with him into those secret conferences, by which alone he cou'd be enabled to become our *adviser* and *guide*. But I shou'd esteem it unfair to proceed upon such an hypothesis as this: when the very utmost the wise antients ever meant by this *dæmon*-companion, I conceive to have been no more than enigmatically to declare, "That we had each of us a patient in *ourselves*; that we were properly our own subjects of practice; and that we then became due practitioners, when by virtue of an intimate *recess* we cou'd discover a certain *duplicity* of soul, and divide our-selves into *two partys*." One of these, as they suppos'd, wou'd immediately approve himself a venerable *sage*; and with an air of authority erect himself our counsellor and governor; whilst the other party, who had no-

Part 1. thing in him besides what was base and *servile*, wou'd be contented to follow and obey.

ACCORDING therefore as this *recess* was deep and intimate, and the *dual* number practically form'd in us, we were suppos'd to advance in morals and true wisdom. This, they thought, was the only way of *composing* matters in our breast, and establishing that subordinacy, which alone cou'd make us agree with our-selves, and be of a-piece *within*. They esteem'd this a more religious work than any prayers, or other duty in the temple. And this they advis'd us to carry thither, as the best offering which cou'd be made :

* *Compositum jus, fasque animi, sanctosque recessus
Mentis.* —————

THIS was, among the antients, that celebrated *Delphick* inscription, RECOGNIZE YOUR-SELF: which was as much as to say, *Divide your-self*, or *Be two*. For if the division were rightly made, all *within* wou'd of course, they thought, be rightly understood, and prudently manag'd. Such confidence they had in this home-*dialect* of *SOLILOQUY*. For it was accounted the peculiar of philosophers and wise men, to be able to *hold themselves in talk*. And it was their boast on this account, "That they were " never less *alone*, than when *by themselves*." A knave, they thought, cou'd never be *by himself*. Not that his conscience was always sure of giving him disturbance; but he had not, they suppos'd, so much interest with himself, as to exert this generous faculty, and raise himself a *companion*; who being fairly admitted into partnership, wou'd quickly mend his partner, and set his affairs on a right foot.

ONE wou'd think, there was nothing easier for us, than to know our own minds, and understand what our main *scope* was; what we plainly drove at, and

* *Perf. Sat. 2.*

what we propose to our-selves, as our *end*, in every Sect. 2. occurrence of our lives. But our thoughts have generally such an obscure implicit language, that 'tis the hardest thing in the world to make 'em speak out distinctly. For this reason, the right method is to give 'em voice and accent. And this, in our default, is what the *Moralists* or *Philosophers* endeavour to do, to our hand; when, as is usual, they hold us out a kind of *vocal* looking-glass, draw sound out of our breast, and instruct us to personate our-selves, in the plainest manner.

* *Illā sibi introrsum, & sub lingua immurmurat: o si
Ebullit patruī præclarum funus!*

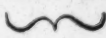
A CERTAIN air of pleasantry and humour, which prevails now-a-days in the fashionable world, gives a son the assurance to tell a father he has liv'd too long: and a husband the privilege of talking of his *second* wife before his *first*. But let the airy gentleman, who makes thus bold with others, retire a while out of company; and he scarce dares tell himself his wishes. Much less can he endure to carry on his thought, as he necessarily must, if he enters once thorowly *into himself*, and proceeds by *interrogatorys* to form the home-acquaintance and familiarity requir'd. For thus, after some struggle, we may suppose him to accost himself. "Tell me
"now, my honest heart! Am I really *honest*, and
"of some worth? or do I only make a fair show,
"and am *intrinsically* no better than a *rascal*? As
"good a friend, a country-man, or a relation, as
"I appear outwardly to the world, or as I wou'd
"willingly perhaps think my-self to be; shou'd I
"not in reality be glad they were hang'd, any of
"them, or broke their necks, who happen'd to
"stand between me and the least portion of an e-

* *Perf. Sat. 2.*

Part I. "state? Why not? since 'tis *my interest*.

~~~~~ "Shou'd I not be glad therefore to help this matter  
 "forwards, and promote *my interest*, if it lay fairly  
 "in my power? No doubt: provided I were  
 "sure not to be punish'd for it. And what  
 "reason has the greatest rogue in nature for not  
 "doing thus? The same reason, and no other.  
 "Am I not then, at the bottom, the same as  
 "he? The same: an arrant villain; tho per-  
 "haps more a coward, and not so perfect in my  
 "kind. If *interest* therefore points me out this  
 "road; whither wou'd *humanity* and *compassion* lead  
 "me? Quite contrary. Why therefore do  
 "I cherish such weaknesses? Why do I sym-  
 "patize with others? Why please my-self in the  
 "conceit of *worth* and *honour*? a *character*, a *me-*  
 "mory, an *issue*, or a *name*? What else are these  
 "but scruples in my way? Wherefore do I thus  
 "bely my own *interest*, and by keeping my-self  
 "half-knave, approve my-self a thorow fool?"

THIS is a language we can by no means endure  
 to hold with our-selves; whatever raillery we may  
 use with others. We may defend villany, or cry  
 up folly before the world: but to appear fools, mad-  
 men, or varlets, to *our-selves*; and prove it to our  
 own faces, that we are really *such*, is insupportable.  
 For so true a reverence has every-one for himself,  
 when he comes clearly to appear before his close  
 companion, that he had rather profess the vilest things  
 of himself in open company, than hear his character  
 privately from his own mouth. So that we may  
 readily from hence conclude, that the chief interest  
 of *ambition*, *avarice*, *corruption*, and every sly insi-  
 nuating *vice*, is to prevent this interview and fami-  
 liarity of discourse which is consequent upon close  
 retirement and inward recess. 'Tis the grand ar-  
 tifice of *villany* and *leudness*, as well as of *super-*  
*stition* and *bigotry*, to put us upon terms of greater  
 distance and formality with our-selves, and evade  
 our proving method of SOLILOQUY. And for this

reason, how specious soever may be the instruction Sect. 2.  
and doctrine of *formalists*; their very manner it-  
self is a sufficient *blind*, or *remora*, in the way of  
honesty and good sense. 

I AM sensible, that shou'd my reader be perad-  
venture a *lover*, after the more profound and solemn  
way of love, he wou'd be apt to conclude, that he  
was no stranger to our propos'd method of practice;  
being conscious to himself of having often made vi-  
gorous excursions into those solitary regions above-  
mention'd; where *Soliloquy* is upheld with most ad-  
vantage. He may chance to remember how he has  
many times address'd the woods and rocks in audible  
articulate sounds, and seemingly expostulated with  
himself in such a manner, as if he had really form'd  
the requisite *distinction*, and had the power to en-  
tertain himself in due form. But it is very apparent,  
that tho all were true we have here suppos'd, it can  
no way reach the case before us. For a passionate  
lover, whatever solitude he may affect, can never  
be truly *by himself*. His case is like the *author's*  
who has begun his courtship to the publick, and is  
embark'd in an intrigue which sufficiently amuses,  
and takes him out of himself. Whatever he medi-  
tates alone, is interrupted still by the imagin'd pre-  
sence of the mistress he pursues. Not a thought,  
not an expression, not a sigh, which is purely for  
himself. All is appropriated, and all devoutly ten-  
der'd to the object of his passion. Insomuch that  
there is nothing ever so trivial or accidental of this  
kind, which he is not desirous shou'd be witness'd  
by the party, whose grace and favour he solicits.

'Tis the same reason which keeps the imagina-  
ry faint, or *mystick*, from being capable of this en-  
tertainment. Instead of looking narrowly into his  
own nature and mind, that he may be no longer  
a mystery to himself, he is taken up with the con-  
templation of other mysterious natures, which he  
can never explain or comprehend. He has the

Part I. Specters of his zeal before his eyes ; and is as familiar with his modes, essences, personages, and exhibitions of DEITY, as the *conjurer* with his different forms, species, and orders of GENII or DEMONS. So that we make no doubt to assert, that not so much as a recluse religionist, a votary, or *hermit*, was ever truly *by himself*. And thus since neither *lover*, *author*, *mystick*, or *conjurer*, (who are the only claimants) can truly or justly be intitled to a share in this self-entertainment ; it remains that the only person intitled, is the *man of sense*, the *sage*, or *philosopher*. However, since of all other characters we are generally the most inclin'd to favour that of a *lover*, it may not, we hope, be impertinent, on this occasion, to recite the story of an amour.

A VIRTUOUS young Prince of a heroick soul, capable of love and friendship, made war upon a tyrant, who was in every respect his reverse. 'Twas the happiness of our Prince to be as great a conqueror by his clemency and bounty, as by his arms and military virtue. Already he had won over to his party several potentates and princes, who before had been subject to the tyrant. Among those who adher'd still to the enemy, there was a Prince, who having all the advantage of person and merit, had lately been made happy in the possession and mutual love of the most beautiful Princess in the world. It happen'd that the occasions of the war call'd the new-marry'd Prince to a distance from his belov'd Princess. He left her secure, as he thought, in a strong castle, far within the country ; but in his absence the place was taken by surprize, and the Princess brought a captive to the quarters of our heroick Prince.

THERE was in the camp a young Nobleman, favourite of the Prince ; one who had been educated with him, and was still treated by him with perfect



familiarity. Him he immediately sent for, and with Sect. 2.  
 strict injunctions committed the captive Princess to  
 his charge; resolving she shou'd be treated with that  
 respect which was due to her high rank and merit.  
 'Twas the same young Lord, who had discover'd  
 her disguis'd among the prisoners, and learnt her  
 story; the particulars of which he now related to  
 the Prince. He spoke in extasy on this occasion;  
 telling the Prince how beautiful she appear'd, even  
 in the midst of sorrow; and tho' disguis'd under the  
 meanest habit, yet how distinguishable, by her air  
 and manner, from every other beauty of her sex.  
 But what appear'd strange to our young Nobleman,  
 was, that the Prince, during this whole relation,  
 discover'd not the least intention of seeing the Lady,  
 or satisfying that curiosity, which seem'd so natural  
 on such an occasion. He press'd him; but without  
 success. "Not see her, Sir! (said he, wondering)  
 "when she is so handsom, beyond what you have  
 "ever seen!"

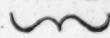
"For that very reason, reply'd the Prince, I  
 "wou'd the rather decline the interview. For  
 "shou'd I, upon the bare report of her beauty, be  
 "so charm'd, as to make the first visit at this ur-  
 "gent time of business; I may upon sight, with  
 "better reason, be induc'd perhaps to visit her,  
 "when I am more at leisure: and so again and a-  
 "gain; till at last I may have no leisure left for  
 "my affairs."

"Wou'd you, Sir! persuade me then, said the  
 "young Nobleman (smiling) that a fair face can  
 "have such power as to force *the will* it-self, and  
 "constrain a man in any respect to act contrary to  
 "what he thinks becoming him? Are we to hear-  
 "ken to the Poets in what they tell us of that in-  
 "cendiary LOVE, and his irresistible flames? A  
 "real flame, we see, burns all alike. But that i-  
 "maginary one of beauty hurts only those who are  
 "consenting. It affects no otherwise, than as we

Part I. “ our-selves are pleas’d to allow it. In many cases  
 “ we absolutely command it : as where relation and  
 “ consanguinity are in the nearest degree. Authority and law, we see, can master it. But ’twou’d  
 “ be vain as well as unjust, for any law to inter-  
 “ meddle or prescribe, were not the case voluntary,  
 “ and our *will* intirely free.

“ How comes it then, reply’d the Prince, that  
 “ if we are thus masters of our choice, and free at  
 “ first to admire and love where we approve, we  
 “ cannot afterwards as well cease to love whenever  
 “ we see cause ? This latter *liberty* you will hard-  
 “ ly defend. For I doubt not, you have heard of  
 “ many, who tho they were us’d to set the highest  
 “ value upon *liberty* before they lov’d, yet after-  
 “ wards were *necessitated* to serve in the most abject  
 “ manner : finding themselves constrain’d and bound  
 “ by a stronger chain than any of iron, or ada-  
 “ mant.

“ SUCH wretches, reply’d the youth, I have of-  
 “ ten heard complain ; who, if you will believe  
 “ ’em, are wretched indeed, without means or  
 “ power to help themselves. You may hear ’em  
 “ in the same manner complain grievously of life  
 “ it-self. But tho there are doors enow to go out  
 “ of life, they find it convenient to keep still where  
 “ they are. They are the very same pretenders,  
 “ who thro this plea of *irresistible necessity* make  
 “ bold with what is another’s, and attempt unlaw-  
 “ ful beds. But the law, I perceive, makes bold  
 “ with them in its turn, as with other invaders of  
 “ property. Neither is it your custom, Sir, to par-  
 “ don such offences. So that beauty it-self, you  
 “ must allow, is innocent and harmless, and can  
 “ compel no-one to do any thing amiss. The de-  
 “ bauched compell themselves, and unjustly charge  
 “ their guilt on LOVE. They who are honest and  
 “ just, can admire and love whatever is beautiful ;  
 “ without offering at any-thing beyond what is al-

" low'd. How then is it possible, Sir, that one of Sect. 2.  
 " your virtue shou'd be in pain on any such account,   
 " or fear such a temptation? You see, Sir, I am  
 " sound and whole, after having beheld the Princess.  
 " I have convers'd with her; I have admir'd her in  
 " the highest degree: yet am *myself* still, and in  
 " my duty; and shall be ever in the same manner  
 " at your command.

" 'Tis well (reply'd the Prince :) Keep your-  
 " self so. Be ever the same man: and look to  
 " your *charge* carefully, as becomes you. For it  
 " may so happen in the present posture of the war,  
 " that this fair captive may stand us in good stead."

WITH this the young Nobleman departed to execute his commission: and immediately took such care of the captive Princess and her household, that she seem'd as perfectly obey'd, and had every thing which belong'd to her in as great splendour now, as in her principality, and in the height of fortune. He found her in every respect deserving, and saw in her a generosity of soul which was beyond her other charms. His study to oblige her, and soften her distress, made her in return desirous to express a gratitude; which he easily perceiv'd. She shew'd on every occasion a real concern for his interest; and when he happened to fall ill, she took such tender care of him her-self, and by her servants, that he seem'd to owe his recovery to her friendship.

FROM these beginnings, insensibly, and by natural degrees (as may easily be conceiv'd) the youth fell desperately in love. At first he offer'd not to make the least mention of his passion to the Princess. For he scarce dar'd tell it *to himself*. But afterwards he grew bolder. She receiv'd his declaration with an unaffected trouble and concern, spoke to him as a friend, to dissuade him as much as possible from such an extravagant attempt. But when he talk'd to her of *force*, she immediately sent away one of her faithful domesticks to the Prince, to implore his pro-

Part I. tecton. The Prince receiv'd the message with the appearance of more than ordinary concern : sent instantly for one of his first ministers ; and bid him go with that domestick to the young Nobleman, and let him understand, " That *force* was not to be offer'd " to such a Lady ; *persuasion* he might use, if he " thought fit."

THE Minister, who was no friend to the young Nobleman, fail'd not to aggravate the message, in-veigh'd publickly against him on this occasion, and to his face reproach'd him as a traitor and dishonourer of his Prince and nation : with all else which cou'd be said against him, as guilty of the highest sacrilege, perfidiousness, and breach of trust. So that in reality, the youth look'd upon his case as desperate, fell into the deepest melancholy, and prepar'd himself for that fate, which he thought he well deserv'd.

IN this condition the Prince sent to speak with him alone : and when he saw him in the utmost confusion, " I find, *said he*, my friend, I am now become dreadful to you indeed ; since you can neither see me without shame, nor imagine me to be without resentment. But away with all those thoughts from this time forwards. I know how much you have suffer'd on this occasion. I know the power of LOVE, and am no otherwise safe my-self, than by keeping out of the way of *beauty*. 'Twas I who was in fault ; 'twas I who unhappily match'd you with that unequal adversary, and gave you that impracticable task and hard adventure, which no-one yet was ever strong enough to accomplish."

" IN this, Sir, reply'd the youth, as in all else, you express that goodness which is so natural to you. You have compassion, and can allow for human frailty ; but the rest of mankind will never cease to upbraid me. Nor shall I ever be forgiven, were I able ever to forgive my-self. I

" am reproach'd by my nearest friends. I must Sect. 2.  
 " be odious to all mankind, wherever I am known.  
 " The least punishment I can think due to me, is  
 " banishment for ever from your presence."

" THINK not of such a thing *for ever*, said  
 " the Prince, but trust me; if you retire only *for a*  
 " *while*, I shall so order it, that you shall soon re-  
 " turn again with the applause, even of those who  
 " are now your enemys, when they find what a con-  
 " siderable service you shall have render'd both to  
 " them and me."

SUCH a hint was sufficient to revive the spirits of  
 our despairing youth. He was transported to think,  
 that his misfortunes cou'd be turn'd any way to the  
 advantage of his Prince: he enter'd with joy into  
 the scheme the Prince had laid for him, and appear-  
 ed eager to depart, and execute what was appointed  
 him. " Can you then, said the Prince, resolve to  
 " quit the charming Princess?"

" O SIR! reply'd the youth, well am I now  
 " satisfy'd, that I have in reality within me *two di-*  
 " *stinct separate souls*. This lesson of philosophy  
 " I have learnt from that villanous sophister LOVE.  
 " For 'tis impossible to believe, that having one  
 " and the same soul, it shou'd be actually both  
 " good and bad, passionate for virtue and vice, de-  
 " sirous of contraries. No. There must of ne-  
 " cessity be *two*: and when *the good* prevails, 'tis  
 " then we act handsomly; when *the ill*, then base-  
 " ly and villanously. Such was my case. For  
 " lately *the ill* soul was wholly master. But now  
 " *the good* prevails, by your assistance; and I am  
 " plainly a new creature, with quite another *appre-*  
 " *hension*, another *reason*, another *WILL*."

THUS it may appear how far a lover by his own  
 natural strength may reach the chief principle of phi-  
 losophy, and understand our doctrine of *two per-*  
 " in one individual *self*. Not that our courtier,



Part 1. we suppose, was able, of himself, to form this *distinction* justly, and according to art. For could he have affected this, he wou'd have been able to cure himself, without the assistance of his Prince. However he was wise enough to see in the issue, that his *independency* and *freedom* were mere glosses, and *resolution* a nose of wax. For let will be ever so free, *humour* and *fancy*, we see, govern it. And these, as free as we suppose 'em, are often chang'd, we know not how, without asking our consent, or giving us any account. If \* *opinion* be that which governs, and makes the change; 'tis itself as liable to be govern'd, and vary'd in its turn. And by what I can observe of the world, *fancy* and *opinion* stand pretty much upon the same bottom. So that if there be no certain *inspector* or *auditor* establish'd within us, to take account of these opinions and fancies in due form, and minutely to animadvert upon their several growths and habits, we are as little like to continue a day in the same will, as a tree, during a summer, in the same *shape*, without the gard'ner's assistance, and the vigorous application of the shears and pruning-knife.

As cruel a court as *the inquisition* appears; there must, it seems, be full as formidable a one, erected in our-selves; if we wou'd pretend to that uniformity of opinion which is necessary to hold us to one will, and preserve us in the same mind, from one day to another. Philosophy, at this rate, will be thought perhaps little better than persecution: and a *supreme judge* in matters of inclination and appetite, must needs go exceedingly against the heart. Every pretty fancy is disturb'd by it: every pleasure interrupted by it. The course of good humour will hardly allow it: and the pleasantry of wit almost absolutely rejects it. It appears, besides, like a kind of pedantry, to be thus magisterial with our

\* *Infra*, p. 218. And VOL. III. p. 135, 136.

selves; thus strict over our imaginations, and with Sect. 2. all the airs of a real pedagogue to be solicitously taken up in the four care and tutorage of so many boyish fancys, unlucky appetites and desires, which are perpetually playing truant, and need correction.

WE hope, however, that by our method of practice, and the help of the grand *arcanum*, which we have professed to reveal, this *regimen* or *discipline of the fancys* may not in the end prove so severe or mortifying as is imagin'd. We hope also that our *patient* (for such we naturally suppose our *reader*) will consider duly with himself, that what he endures in this operation is for no inconsiderable end: since 'tis to gain him a *will*, and insure him a *certain resolution*; by which he shall know where to find himself; be sure of his own meaning and design; and as to all his desires, opinions, and inclinations, be warranted *one and the same* person to day as yesterday, and to morrow as to day.

THIS, perhaps, will be thought a miracle by one who well considers the nature of mankind, and the growth, variation, and inflection of *appetite* and *humour*. For APPETITE, which is elder brother to REASON, being the lad of stronger growth, is sure, on every contest, to take the advantage of drawing all to his own side. And *Will*, so highly boasted, is, at best, merely a top or foot-ball between these youngsters, who prove very unfortunately match'd; will the youngest, instead of now and then a kick or dash bestow'd to little purpose, forsakes the ball or top it-self, and begins to lay about his elder brother. 'Tis then that the scene changes. For the elder, like an arrant coward, upon this treatment, presently grows civil, and affords the younger as fair play afterwards as he can desire.

AND here it is that our sovereign remedy and *gymnastick* method of *SOLILOQUY* takes its rise: when by a certain powerful figure of inward rheto-

Part 1. rick, the mind *apostrophizes* its own FANCYS, raises 'em in their proper *shapes* and *personages*, and addresses them familiarly, without the least ceremony or respect. By this means it will soon happen, that two form'd *partys* will erect themselves *within*. For the imaginations or fancys being thus roundly treated, are forc'd to declare themselves, and take party. Those on the side of the elder brother APPETITE, are strangely subtle and insinuating. They have always the faculty to speak by nods and winks. By this practice they conceal half their meaning, and, like modern politicians, pass for deeply wise, and adorn themselves with the finest pretexts and most specious glosses imaginable; till being confronted with their fellows of a plainer language and expression, they are forc'd to quit their mysterious manner, and discover themselves mere *sophisters* and *impostors*, who have not the least to do with the party of REASON and *good sense*.

ACCORDINGLY we might now proceed to exhibit distinctly, and in due method, the form and manner of this *probation*, or *exercise*, as it regards all men in general. But the case of *authors*, in particular, being, as we apprehend, the most urgent; we shall apply our rule in the first place to these gentlemen, whom it so highly imports to know themselves, and understand the natural *strength* and *powers*, as well as the *weaknesses* of a human mind. For without this understanding, the *Historian's* judgment will be very defective; the *Politician's* views very narrow and chimerical; and the *Poet's* brain, however stock'd with fiction, will be but poorly furnish'd; as in the sequel we shall make appear. He who deals in *characters*, must of necessity know *himself*; or he will know nothing. And he who would give the world a profitable entertainment of this sort, shou'd be sure to profit, first, by himself. For in this sense, *wisdom* as well as *charity* may be honestly said to *begin at home*. There is no way of

steeming manners, or apprizing the different *humours*, Sect. 3. *fancys*, *passions*, and *apprehensions* of others, without first taking an inventory of the same kind of goods within our-selves, and surveying our domestick fund. A little of this *home-practice* will serve to make great discoveries.

*Tecum habita, & noris quam sit tibi curta supellex.*  
Pers. Sat. 4.

## S E C T. III.

WHOEVER has been an observer of *action* and *grace* in human bodys, must of necessity have discover'd the great difference in this respect between such persons as have been taught by nature only, and such as by reflection, and the assistance of art, have learnt to form those motions which on experience are found the easiest and most natural. Of the former kind are either those good *rusticks*, who have been bred remote from the form'd societys of men; or those plain *artizans*, and people of lower rank, who living in citys and places of resort, have been necessitated however to follow mean employments, and wanted the opportunity and means to form themselves after the better models. There are some persons indeed so happily form'd by nature her-self, that with the greatest simplicity or rudeness of education, they have still something of a natural grace and comeliness in their action: and there are others of a better education, who by a wrong aim and injudicious affectation of grace, are of all people the farthest remov'd from it. 'Tis undeniable however, that the perfection of grace and comeliness in action and behaviour, can be found only among the people of a liberal education. And even among the graceful of this kind, those still are found the gracefullest, who early in their youth have learnt their

Part 1. exercises, and form'd their motions under the best *masters*.

Now such as these *masters* and their lessons are to a *fine gentleman*, such are *philosophers*, and philosophy, to an *author*. The case is the same in the *fashionable*, and in the *literate* world. In the former of these 'tis remark'd, that by the help of good company and the force of example merely, a decent carriage is acquir'd, with such apt motions and such a freedom of limbs, as on all ordinary occasions may enable the party to demean himself like a gentleman. But when upon further occasion, trial is made in an extraordinary way; when exercises of the genteeler kind are to be perform'd *in publick*, 'twill easily appear who of the pretenders have been form'd by rudiments, and had *masters in private*; and who, on the other side, have contented themselves with bare imitation, and learnt their part casually and by rote. The parallel is easily made on the side of *writers*. They have at least as much need of learning the several motions, counterpoises and ballances of the mind and passions, as the other students those of the body and limbs.

\* *Scribendi recte, sapere est & principium & fons, Rem tibi SOCRATICÆ poterunt ostendere CHARTÆ.*

THE *galant*, no doubt, may pen a letter to his mistress, as the *courtier* may a compliment to the minister, or the minister to the favourite above him,

\* *Hor. de Arte Poet.* See even the dissolute PETRONIUS's judgment of a writer.

*Artis severae si quis amat effectus,  
Mentemque magnis applicat; prius more  
Frugalitatis lege polleat exacta;  
Nec curet alto regiam truce vultu.*

\* \* \* \* \*

— — — — — *neve plausor in Scaena  
Sedeat redemptus, Histrioniae addictus.*



without going such vast depths into learning or philosophy. But for these privileg'd gentlemen, tho they set fashions and prescribe rules in other cases, they are no controulers in the commonwealth of letters. Nor are they presum'd to write to the age, or for remote posterity. Their works are not of a nature to intitle 'em to hold the rank of *authors*, or be stil'd *writers* by way of excellence in the kind. Shou'd their ambition lead 'em into such a field, they wou'd be oblig'd to come otherwise equip'd. They who enter the publick lists, must come duly train'd, and exercis'd, like well appointed cavaliers, expert in arms, and well instructed in the use of their weapon, and management of their steed. For to be well accouter'd, and well mounted, is not sufficient. The horse alone can never make *the horseman*: nor limbs *the wrestler* or *the dancer*. No more can a genius alone make *a poet*; or good parts a *writer*, in any considerable kind. The skill and grace of writing is founded, as our wise Poet tells us, in *knowledge* and *good sense*: and not barely in that knowledge, which is to be learnt from common authors, or the general conversation of the world; but from those particular rules of art, which philosophy alone exhibits.

THE philosophical writings, to which our Poet in *his Art of Poetry* refers, were in themselves a kind of *poetry*, like the † *Mimes*, or personated pieces of early times, before *philosophy* was in vogue, and when as yet *dramatical imitation* was scarce

\* \* \* \* \*

\* \* \* \* \*

*Mox & Socratico plenus grege, mutet habenas  
Liber, & ingentis quatiat Demosthenis arma.*

\* \* \* \* \*

\* \* \* \* \*

*His animum succinge bonis, sic flumine large  
Pleaus, Pierio defundes pectore verba.*

† *Infra*, p. 172. in the notes.

Part I. form'd; or at least, in many parts, not brought to due perfection. They were pieces which, besides their force of stile, and hidden numbers, carry'd a sort of *action* and *imitation*, the same as the *epick* and *dramatick* kinds. They were either real *dialogues*, or recitals, of such *personated discourses*; where the persons themselves had their characters preserv'd throughout; their manners, humours, and distinct turns of temper and understanding maintain'd, according to the most exact *poetical truth*. 'Twas not enough that these pieces treated fundamentally of *morals*, and in consequence pointed out *real characters* and *manners*: they exhibited 'em *alive*, and set the countenances and complexions of men plainly in view. And by this means they not only taught us to know *others*; but, what was principal and of highest virtue in 'em, they taught us to know *ourselves*.

THE philosophical *Hero* of these poems, whose name they carry'd both in their body and front, and whose genius and manner they were made to represent, was in himself a *perfect character*; yet, in some respects, so veil'd, and in a cloud, that to the unattentive surveyor he seem'd often to be very different from what he really was: and this chiefly by reason of a certain exquisite and refin'd raillery which belong'd to his manner, and by virtue of which he cou'd treat the highest subjects, and those of the commonest capacity both together, and render 'em explanatory of each other. So that in this genius of writing, there appear'd both *the heroick*, and *the simple*, *the tragick*, and *the comick vein*. However, it was so order'd, that notwithstanding the oddness or mysteriousness of the principal character, the *under-parts* or *second characters* shew'd human nature more distinctly, and to the life. We might here, therefore, as in a *looking-glass*, discover our-selves, and see our minutest features nicely delineated, and futed to our own apprehension and cognizance. No one who was ever so little a while an inspector, cou'd

fail of becoming acquainted with his own heart. Sect. 3. And, what was of singular note in these *magical glasses*; it wou'd happen, that by constant and long inspection, the partys accusom'd to the practice, wou'd acquire a peculiar *speculative habit*; so as virtually to carry about with 'em a sort of *pocket-mirrou*r, always ready, and in use. In this, there were *two* faces which wou'd naturally present themselves to our view: *one* of them, like the commanding genius, the leader and chief above-mention'd; the *other*, like that rude, undisciplin'd and head-strong creature, whom we our-selves in our natural capacity most exactly resembled. Whatever we were employ'd in, whatever we set about; if once we had acquir'd the habit of this *mirrou*r; we shou'd, by virtue of the double reflection, distinguish our-selves into two different partys. And in this *dramatick* method, the work of *self-inspection* wou'd proceed with admirable success.

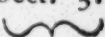
'Tis no wonder that the primitive poets were esteem'd such *sages* in their times; since it appears, they were such well-practis'd *dialogists*, and accusom'd to this improving method, before ever philosophy had adopted it. Their *Mimes* or character'd discourses were as much relish'd, as their most regular poems; and were the occasion perhaps that so many of these latter were form'd in such perfection. For poetry it-self was defin'd *an imitation* chiefly of men and manners; and was that in an exalted and noble degree, which in a low one we call *mimickry*. 'Tis in this that the great † *Mimographer*, the father and prince of poets, excels so highly; his characters being wrought to a likeness beyond what any succeeding masters were ever able to describe. Nor

† Ομηρος ὃ ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἄξιος ἐπαινέσθαι, καὶ δὴ καὶ ὅτι μῖμος τῶν ποιητῶν, ἢ καὶ ἀγνοεῖ ὃ δὲ ποιεῖν αὐτόν. Αὐτὸν γὰρ δεῖ τὴν ποιητὴν ἐλάττω λέγειν. ὃ γὰρ ἐστὶ κατὰ ταῦτα μιμητής. οἱ μὲν ὦν ἄλλοι, αὐτοὶ μὲν δὲ ὅλα ἀγανίζονται, μιμῶνται ὃ ὅλιστα καὶ ὀλιγάκις. Arist. de Poet. cap. 24.

Part I. are his works, which are so full of action, any other than an artful series or chain of *dialogues*, which turn upon *one* remarkable *catastrophe* or event. He describes no qualitys or virtues; censures no manners; makes no encomiums, nor gives characters himself; but brings his actors still in view. 'Tis they who shew themselves. 'Tis they who speak in such a manner as distinguishes 'em in all things from all others, and makes 'em ever like themselves. Their different compositions and allays so justly made, and equally carry'd on, thro every particle of the action, give more instruction than all the comments or glosses in the world. The Poet, instead of giving himself those dictating and masterly airs of wisdom, makes hardly any figure at all, and is scarce discoverable in his poem. This is being truly a *master*. He paints so as to need no inscription over his figures, to tell us what they are, or what he intends by 'em. A few words let fall, on any slight occasion, from any of the partys he introduces, are sufficient to denote their manners and distinct character. From a finger or a toe, he can represent to our thoughts the frame and fashion of a whole body. He wants no other help of art, to personate his heroes, and make 'em living. There was no more left for *tragedy* to do after him, than to erect a stage, and draw his dialogues and characters into scenes; turning, in the same manner, upon one principal action or event, with that regard to place and time which was suitable to a real spectacle. Even \* *comedy* it-self was adjudg'd to this great master; it being deriv'd from those *parodys* or mock-humours, of which he had given the † specimen in a conceal'd sort of raillery intermix'd with the sublime.—A dangerous stroke of art! and which requir'd a masterly hand, like that

\* *Infra*, p. 166, 172. in the notes.

† Not only in his *Margites*, but even in his *Iliad* and *Odysee*.

of the philosophical hero, whose character was re- Sect. 3.  
presented in the *dialogue-writings* above-mention'd. 

FROM hence possibly we may form a notion of that resemblance, which on so many occasions was heretofore remark'd between the Prince of poets, and the divine Philosopher, who was said to rival him, and who together with his contemporaries of the same school, writ wholly in that manner of *dialogue* above-describ'd. From hence too we may comprehend perhaps, why the study of dialogue was heretofore thought so advantageous to *writers*, and why this manner of writing was judg'd so difficult, which at first sight, it must be own'd, appears the easiest of any.

I HAVE formerly wonder'd indeed why a *manner*, which was familiarly us'd in treatises upon most subjects, with so much success among the antients, shou'd be so insipid, and of little esteem with us moderns. But I afterwards perceiv'd, that besides the difficulty of the *manner* it-self, and that *mirrour-faculty*, which we have observ'd it to carry in respect of *our-selves*, it proves also of necessity a kind of mirrour or looking-glass to *the age*. If so; it shou'd of consequence (you'll say) be the more agreeable and entertaining. True: if the real view of our-selves be not perhaps displeasing to us.

But why more displeasing to us than to the antients? Because perhaps they cou'd with just reason bear to see their natural countenances represented.

And why not we the same? What shou'd discourage us? For are we not as handsom, at least *in our own eyes*? Perhaps not: as we shall see, when we have consider'd a little further what the force is of this *mirrour-writing*, and how it differs from that more complaisant modish way, in which an author, instead of presenting us with other natural characters, sets off his own with the utmost art, and purchases his reader's favour by all imaginable compliances and condescensions.



Part I. AN AUTHOR who writes in his own person, has the advantage of being *who* or *what* he pleases. He is no certain man, nor has any certain or genuine character: but suits himself, on every occasion, to the fancy of his reader, whom, as the fashion is now-a-days, he constantly caresses and cajoles. All turns upon their two persons. And as in an amour, or commerce of love-letters; so here the author has the privilege of talking eternally of himself, dressing and sprucing up himself; whilst he is making diligent court, and working upon the humour of the party to whom he addresses. This is the *coquetry* of a modern author; whose epistles dedicatory, prefaces, and addresses to the reader, are so many affected graces, design'd to draw the attention from the subject, towards *himself*; and make it be generally observ'd, not so much *what he says*, as *what he appears*, or *is*, and what figure he already makes, or hopes to make, in the fashionable world.

THESE are the airs which a neighbouring nation give themselves, more particularly in what they call their *memoirs*. Their very essays on politicks, their philosophical and critical works, their comments upon antient and modern authors, all their treatises are *memoirs*. The whole writing of this age is become indeed a sort of *memoir writing*. Tho in the real memoirs of the antients, even when they writ at any time concerning themselves, there was neither the *I* nor *THOU* throughout the whole work. So that all this pretty amour and intercourse of caresses between the author and reader was thus intirely taken away.

MUCH more is this the case in *DIALOGUE*. For here *the author* is annihilated; and *the reader* being no way apply'd to, stands for no-body. The self-interesting partys both vanish at once. The scene presents it-self, as by chance, and undesign'd. You are not only left to judg coolly, and with indifference, of the sense deliver'd; but of the character, genius, elocution, and manner of the persons

who deliver it. These two are mere strangers, in Sect. 3. whose favour you are no way engag'd. Nor is it enough that the persons introduc'd speak pertinent and good sense, at every turn. It must be seen *from what bottom* they speak; from what *principle*, what *stock* or *fund* of knowledge they draw; and what kind or species of understanding they possess. For the understanding here must have its mark, its characteristick note, by which it may be distinguish'd. It must be *such and such an understanding*; as when we say, for instance, *such or such a face*: since nature has characteriz'd tempers and minds as peculiarly as faces. And for an artist who draws naturally, 'tis not enough to shew us merely faces which may be call'd *men's*: every face must be a certain *man's*.

Now as a painter who draws battles or other actions of *Christians, Turks, Indians*, or any distinct and peculiar people, must of necessity draw the several figures of his piece in their proper and real proportions, gestures, habits, arms, or at least with as fair resemblance as possible; so in the same manner that writer, whoever he be, among us moderns, who shall venture to bring his fellow-moderns into *dialogue*, must introduce 'em in their proper manners, genius, behaviour and humour. And this is the *mirrour* or *looking-glass* above describ'd.

For instance, a dialogue, we will suppose, is fram'd after the manner of our antient authors. In it, a poor Philosopher, of a mean figure, accosts one of the powerfullest, wittiest, handsomest, and richest Noblemen of the time, as he is walking leisurely towards the temple. "You are going then," says he, (calling him by his plain name) to pay "your devotions yonder at the temple? I am "so. But with an air methinks, as if some "thought perplex'd you. What is there in "the case which shou'd perplex one? The "thought perhaps of your petitions, and the consideration what vows you had best offer to the

Part I. "Deity. Is that so difficult? Can any one be  
 "so foolish as to ask of Heaven what is not for his  
 "good? Not, if he understands what his *good*  
 "is. Who can mistake it, if he has common  
 "sense, and knows the difference between prosperi-  
 "ty and adversity? 'Tis *prosperity* therefore  
 "you wou'd pray for. Undoubtedly. For  
 "instance, that absolute sovereign, who commands  
 "all things by virtue of his immense treasures, and  
 "governs by his sole will and pleasure, him you  
 "think *prosperous*, and his state *happy*."

WHILST I am copying this (for 'tis no more in-  
 deed than a borrow'd sketch from one of those ori-  
 ginals before-mention'd) I see a thousand ridicules  
 arising from the manner, the circumstances and action  
 itself, compar'd with modern breeding and civility.  
 — Let us therefore mend the matter, if possible,  
 and introduce the same Philosopher, addressing him-  
 self in a more obsequious manner, to *his Grace, his*  
*Excellency, or his Honour*; without failing in the  
 least tittle of the ceremonial. Or let us put the case  
 more favourably still for our *man of letters*. Let  
 us suppose him to be *incognito*, without the least ap-  
 pearance of a character, which in our age is so little  
 recommending. Let his garb and action be of the  
 more modish sort, in order to introduce him better,  
 and gain him audience. And with these advantages  
 and precautions, imagine still in what manner he must  
 accost this pageant of state, if at any time he finds him  
 at leisure, walking in the fields alone, and without  
 his equipage. Consider how many bows, and sim-  
 pering faces! how many preludes, excuses, com-  
 pliments! — Now put *compliments*, put *ceremony*  
 into a *dialogue*, and see what will be the effect!

THIS is the plain *dilemma* against that antient  
 manner of writing, which we can neither well imi-  
 tate, nor translate; what-ever pleasure or profit we  
 may find in reading those originals. For what shall  
 we do in such a circumstance? What if the fancy  
 takes us, and we resolve to try the experiment in

modern subjects? See the consequence! — If we Sect. 3.  
 avoid ceremony, we are unnatural: if we use it, and  
 appear as we naturally are, as we salute, and meet,  
 and treat one another, we hate the sight. — What's  
 this but *hating our own faces*? Is it the *Painter's*  
 fault? Should he paint falsely, or affectedly; mix  
 modern with antient, join shapes preposterously, and  
 betray his art? If not; what medium is there?  
 What remains for him, but to throw away the pen-  
 cil? — No more designing after the life: no more  
*mirrour-writing*, or personal representation of any  
 kind whatever.

THUS *dialogue* is at an end. The antients cou'd  
 see their own faces; but we can't. And why this?

Why, but because we have less beauty? For  
 so our looking-glass can inform us. — Ugly instru-  
 ment! And for this reason to be hated. — Our  
 commerce and manner of conversation, which we  
 think the politest imaginable, is such, it seems, as  
 we our-selves can't endure to see represented to the  
 life. 'Tis here, as in our real portraitures, particu-  
 larly those at full length, where the poor pencil-man  
 is put to a thousand shifts, whilst he strives to dress  
 us in affected habits, such as we never wore; be-  
 cause shou'd he paint us in those we really wear,  
 they wou'd of necessity make the piece to be so much  
 more ridiculous, as it was more natural, and resem-  
 bling.

THUS much for *antiquity*, and those rules of art,  
 those *philosophical sea-cards*, by which the adventu-  
 rous genius's of the times were wont to steer their  
 courses, and govern their impetuous muse. These  
 were the CHARTÆ of our *Roman* Master-poet, and  
 these the pieces of art, the *mirrours*, the *exemplars*.  
 he bids us place before our eyes.

\* ——— *Vos exemplaria Græca*  
*Nocturna versate manu, versate diurna.*

\* Hor. de Arte Poet. v. 268.

Part I. AND thus poetry and the writer's art, as in many respects it resembles the *statuary's* and the *painter's*, so in this more particularly, that it has its original *draughts* and *models* for study and practice : not for ostentation, to be shown abroad, or copy'd for publick view. These are the antient *busts* ; the *trunks* of statues ; the pieces of *anatomy* ; the masterly rough *drawings* which are kept within ; as the secret learning, the mastery, and fundamental knowledge of the art. There is this essential difference however between the artists of each kind ; that they who design merely after *bodys*, and form the graces of this sort, can never, with all their accuracy, or correctness of design, be able to reform themselves, or grow a jot more shapely in their persons. But for those artists who copy from another life, who study the graces and perfections of *minds*, and are real masters of those rules which constitute this latter science ; 'tis impossible they shou'd fail of being themselves improv'd, and amended in their *better part*.

I MUST confess there is hardly any where to be found a more insipid race of mortals, than those whom we moderns are contented to call *poets*, for having attain'd the chiming faculty of a language, with an injudicious random use of wit and fancy. But for the man, who truly and in a just sense deserves the name of *poet*, and who as a real master, or architect in the kind, can describe both *men* and *manners*, and give to an *action* its just body and proportions ; he will be found, if I mistake not, a very different creature. Such a *Poet* is indeed a second *maker* : a just PROMETHEUS, under JOVE. Like that sovereign artist or universal plastick nature, he forms a *whole*, coherent and proportion'd in it-self, with due subjection and subordinacy of constituent parts. He notes the boundary of the passions, and knows their exact *tones* and *measures* ; by which he justly represents them, marks the *sublime* of sentiments and action, and distinguishes the *beautiful* from the *deform'd*, the *amiable* from the a-



dious. The moral artist, who can thus imitate the Sect. 3.  
 Creator, and is thus knowing in the inward form and  
 structure of his fellow-creature, will hardly, I presume,  
 be found unknowing in *himself*, or at a loss in those  
 numbers which make the harmony of a mind. For  
*knavery* is mere *dissonance* and *disproportion*. And  
 tho' villains may have strong *tones* and natural capa-  
 cities of action; 'tis impossible that \* true judgment  
 and *ingenuity* shou'd reside, where *harmony* and *ho-*  
*nesty* have no being.

BUT having enter'd thus seriously into the con-  
 cerns of *authors*, and shewn their chief foundation  
 and strength, their preparatory discipline, and qua-

\* The maxim will hardly be disprov'd by fact or hi-  
 story, either in respect of philosophers themselves, or o-  
 thers who were the great genius's or masters in the liberal  
 arts. The characters of the two best *Roman* Poets are well  
 known. Those of the antient *tragedians* no less. And the  
 great epick master, tho' of an obscurer and remoter age,  
 was ever presum'd to be far enough from a vile or knavish  
 character. The *Roman* as well as the *Grecian* Orator was  
 true to his country; and died in like manner a martyr for  
 its liberty. And those *Historians* who are of highest  
 value, were either in a private life *approv'd good men*, or  
 noted such by their actions in the publick. As for Poets  
 in particular (says the learned and wise STRABO) " Can  
 " we possibly imagine, that the genius, power, and ex-  
 " cellence of a real *Poet* consists in ought else than  
 " the just *imitation* of life, in form'd discourse and  
 " numbers? But how shou'd he be that just *imitator* of  
 " life, whilst he himself knows not its measures, nor how  
 " to guide himself by judgment and understanding? For  
 " we have not surely the same notion of the Poet's ex-  
 " cellence as of the ordinary Craftsman's, the subject of  
 " whose art is senseless stone or timber, without life, dig-  
 " nity, or beauty: whilst the Poet's art turning princi-  
 " pally on men and manners, he has his virtue and ex-  
 " cellence, as *Poet*, naturally annex'd to human excel-

Part 2. lifying method of *self-examination*; 'tis fit, e'er we disclose this *mystery* any further, we shou'd consider the advantages or disadvantages our authors may possibly meet with, *from abroad*: and how far their genius may be depress'd or rais'd by any external causes, arising from the humour or judgment of the world.

WHATEVER it be which influences in this respect, must proceed either from the *GRANDEES* and *men in power*, the *CRITICKS* and *men of art*, or the *PEOPLE* themselves, *the common audience*, and *mere vulgar*. We shall begin therefore with the *grande-es*, and pretended masters of the world: taking the liberty, in favour of authors, to bestow some *advice* also on these high persons; if possibly they are dispos'd to receive it in such a familiar way as this.

## PART II.

### SECT. I.

AS usual as it is with mankind to act absolutely by will and pleasure, without regard to counsel, or the rigid method of rule and precept; it must be acknowledg'd nevertheless, that the good and laudable custom of *asking advice*, is still upheld and kept in fashion, as a matter of fair repute, and honourable appearance: insomuch that even monarchs, and absolute princes themselves, disdain not, we see, to make profession of the practice.

" lence, and to the worth and dignity of man. Infomuch that 'tis impossible he shou'd be a great and worthy Poet, who is not first a worthy and good man." *Οὐ γὰρ ἔγω φαμέν τὴν τῶν Ποιητῶν ἀρετὴν ὡς ἡ τεκνίων ἢ χαλκίων, &c. ἢ ὅ ποιεῖται συνέξουσται τῇ τῷ Ἀνθρώπῳ. ὃ ἔχον τὸ ἀγαθὸν γενέσθαι ποιητὴν, μὴ πρότερον γενέσθαι ἀνδρᾶ ἀγαθόν.* Lib. 1. See below, p. 188, 227. and 235, 236. in the notes. And Vol. III. p. 168, 169, 186, 192.

'Tis, I presume, on this account, that the royal Sect. 1. persons are pleas'd, on publick occasions, to make use of the noted stile of WE and US. Not that they are suppos'd to have any *converse with themselves*, as being endow'd with the privilege of becoming *plural*, and enlarging their capacity, in the manner above describ'd. Single and absolute persons in government, I'm sensible, can hardly be consider'd as any other than *single* and *absolute* in morals. They have no *inmate*-controuler to cavil with 'em, or dispute their pleasure. Nor have they, from any practice *abroad*, been able at any time to learn the way of being free and familiar with themselves, *at home*. INCLINATION and WILL in such as these, admit as little restraint or check in private meditation as in publick company. The world, which serves as a tutor to persons of an inferior rank, is submissive to these *royal pupils*; who from their earliest days are us'd to see even their *instructors* bend before 'em, and hear every thing applauded which they themselves perform.

FOR fear therefore, lest their humour merely, or the caprice of some favourite, shou'd be presum'd to influence 'em, when they come to years of princely discretion, and are advanc'd to the helm of government; it has been esteem'd a necessary decency to summon certain *advisers by profession*, to assist as attendants to the *single person*, and be join'd with him in his written edicts, proclamations, letters-patent, and other instruments of regal power. For this use, *privy-counsellors* have been erected; who being persons of considerable figure and wise aspect, cannot be suppos'd to stand as statues or mere cyphers in the government, and leave the royal acts erroneously and falsely describ'd to us in the plural number; when, at the bottom, a *single will* or *faculty* was the sole spring and motive.

FOREIGN Princes indeed have most of 'em that unhappy prerogative of acting *unadvisedly* and *wilfully* in their national affairs: but 'tis known to be

Part 2. far otherwise with the legal and just Princes of our island. They are surrounded with the best of *counsellors*, the *LAWs*. They administer civil affairs by legal officers, who have the direction of their public will and conscience : and they annually receive *advice* and *aid*, in the most effectual manner, from their good people. To this wise genius of our constitution we may be justly said to owe our wisest and best princes ; whose high birth or royal education cou'd not alone be suppos'd to have given 'em that happy turn : since by experience we find, that those very princes, from whose conduct the world abroad, as well as we at home, have reap'd the greatest advantages, were such as had the most controverted titles ; and in their youth had stood in the remoter prospects of regal power, and liv'd the nearest to a private life.

OTHER princes we have had, who tho difficult perhaps in receiving counsel, have been eminent in the practice of applying it to others. They have list'd themselves *advisers* in form, and by publishing their admonitory works, have added to the number of those, whom in this treatise we have presum'd to criticize. But our criticism being withal an apology for *authors*, and a defence of the *literate* tribe ; it cannot be thought amiss in us, to join the royal with the plebeian penmen, in this common cause.

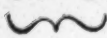
'TWO'D be a hard case indeed, shou'd the princes of our nation refuse to countenance the industrious race of *authors* ; since their royal ancestors, and predecessors, have had such honour deriv'd to 'em from this profession. 'Tis to this they owe that bright jewel of their crown, purchas'd by a warlike prince ; who having assum'd the *author*, and essay'd his strength in the *polemick* writings of the school-divines, thought it an honour on this account to retain the title of DEFENDER OF THE FAITH.

ANOTHER Prince, of a more pacifick nature and fluent thought, submitting *arms* and martial discipline to *the gown* ; and confiding in his princely

science and profound learning, made his stile and Sect. 1.  
 speech the nerve and sinew of his government. He gave us his works full of wise exhortation and *advice* to his royal son, as well as of instruction to his good people; who cou'd not without admiration observe their *author-sovereign*, thus studious and contemplative in their behalf. 'Twas then, one might have seen our nation growing young and docile, with that simplicity of heart, which qualify'd 'em to profit like a *scholar-people* under their royal *preceptor*. For with abundant eloquence he graciously gave lessons to his parliament, tutor'd his ministers, and edify'd the greatest church-men and divines themselves; by whose suffrage he obtain'd the highest appellations which cou'd be merited by the acutest wit, and truest understanding. From hence the *British* nations were taught to own in common a SOLOMON for their joint sovereign, the founder of their late completed union. Nor can it be doubted that the pious treatise of *self-discourse* ascrib'd to the succeeding monarch, contributed in a great measure to his glorious and never-fading titles of SAINT, and MARTYR.

HOWEVER it be, I wou'd not willingly take upon me to recommend this *author-character* to our future princes. Whatever crowns or laurels their renown'd predecessors may have gather'd in this field of honour; I shou'd think that, for the future, the speculative province might more properly be committed to private heads. 'Twou'd be a sufficient encouragement to the learned world, and a sure earnest to the increase and flourishing of letters in our nation, if its sovereigns wou'd be contented to be the patrons of wit, and vouchsafe to look graciously on the ingenious pupils of art. Or were it the custom of their prime-ministers, to have any such regard; it wou'd of it-self be sufficient to change the face of affairs. A small degree of favour wou'd insure the fortunes of a distress'd and ruinous tribe, whose for-



Part 2.  lorn condition has help'd to draw disgrace upon *arts* and *sciences*, and kept 'em far off from that politeness and beauty, in which they wou'd soon appear, if the aspiring genius of our nation were forwarded by the least care or culture.

THERE shou'd not, one wou'd think, be any need of courtship or persuasion to engage our *grandeers* in the patronage of arts and letters. For in our nation, upon the foot things stand, and as they are likely to continue; 'tis not difficult to foresee that improvements will be made in every art and science. The *MUSES* will have their turn; and with or without their *MÆCENAS*'s will grow in credit and esteem; as they arrive to greater perfection, and excel in every kind. There will arise such *spirits* as wou'd have credited their court-patrons, had they found any so wise as to have sought 'em out betimes, and contributed to their rising greatness.

'TIS scarce a quarter of an age since such a happy ballance of power was settled between our prince and people, as has firmly secur'd our hitherto precarious libertys, and remov'd from us the fear of civil commotions, wars and violence, either on account of religion and worship, the property of the subject, or the contending titles of the crown. But as the greatest advantages of this world are not to be bought at easy prices; we are still at this moment expending both our blood and treasure, to secure to our-selves this inestimable purchase of our *free government* and *national constitution*. And as happy as we are in this establishment at home; we are still held in a perpetual alarm by the aspect of affairs abroad, and by the terror of that power, which e'er mankind had well recover'd the misery of those barbarous ages consequent to the *Roman* yoke, has again threaten'd the world with a universal monarchy, and a new abyss of ignorance and superstition.

THE BRITISH MUSES, in this dinn of arms,

may well lie abject and obscure ; especially being as Sect. 1. yet in their mere infant-state. They have hitherto scarce arriv'd to any-thing of shapeliness or person. They lisp as in their cradles : and their stammering tongues, which nothing beside their youth and rawness can excuse, have hitherto spoken in wretched pun and quibble. Our *dramatick* SHAKESPEAR, our FLETCHER, JOHNSON, and our *epick* MILTON preserve this stile. And even a latter race, scarce free of this infirmity, and aiming at a false *sublime*, with crouded *simile*, and *mix'd metaphor*, (the hobby-horse, and rattle of the MUSES) entertain our raw fancy, and unpractis'd ear ; which has not as yet had leisure to form it-self, and become \* truly *musical*.

BUT those reverend Bards, rude as they were, according to their time and age, have provided us however with the richest oar. To their eternal honour they have withal been the first of EUROPEANS, who since the GOTHICK *model* of poetry, attempted to throw off the horrid discord of jingling rhyme. They have asserted antient *poetick liberty*, and have happily broken the ice for those who are to follow 'em ; and who treading in their footsteps, may at leisure polish our language, lead our ear to finer pleasure, and find out the true *rhythmus*, and harmonious numbers, which alone can satisfy a just judgment, and *musical* apprehension.

'TIS evident, our natural genius shines above that airy neighbouring nation ; of whom, however, it must be confes'd, that with truer pains and industry, they have sought *politeness*, and study'd to give the MUSES their due body and proportion, as well as the natural ornaments of correctness, chastity, and grace of stile. From the plain model of the antients, they have rais'd a noble † *Satirist*.

\* VOL. III. pag. 179, 180.

† BOILEAU.

Part 2. In the *epick* kind their attempts have been less successful. In the *dramatick* they have been so happy, as to raise their stage to as great perfection, as the genius of their nation will permit. But the high spirit of *tragedy* can ill subsist where the *spirit of liberty* is wanting. The genius of this poetry consists in the lively representation of the disorders and misery of *the great*; to the end that *the people* and those of a *lower condition* may be taught the better to content themselves with privacy, enjoy their safer state, and prize the equality and justice of their *guardian LAWS*. If this be found agreeable to the just *tragick model*, which the antients have deliver'd to us; 'twill easily be conceiv'd how little such a model is proportion'd to the capacity or taste of those, who in a long series of degrees, from the lowest peasant to the high slave of royal blood, are taught to idolize the next in power above 'em, and think nothing so adorable as that unlimited greatness, and tyrannick power, which is rais'd at *their own* expence, and exercis'd over *themselves*.

'Tis easy on the other hand, to apprehend the advantages of our *BRITAIN* in this particular; and what effect its establish'd liberty will produce in every thing which relates to *art*; when *peace* returns to us on these happy conditions. 'Twas the fate of *ROME* to have scarce an intermediate age, or single period of time, between the rise of arts and fall of liberty. No sooner had that nation begun to lose the roughness and barbarity of their manners, and learn of *GREECE* to form their *Heroes*, their *Orators* and *Poets* on a right model, than by their unjust attempt upon the liberty of the world, they justly lost their own. With their liberty they lost not only their force of eloquence, but even their style and language it-self. The *Poets* who afterwards arose amongst them, were mere unnatural and forc'd plants. Their *two* most accomplish'd, who came last, and clos'd the scene, were plainly such as had

seen the days of liberty, and felt the sad effects of Sect. 1. its departure. Nor had these been ever brought in play, otherwise than thro the friendship of the fam'd MÆCENAS, who turn'd a \* Prince naturally cruel and barbarous to the love and courtship of the MUSES. These *Tutoreſſes* form'd in their royal pupil a new nature. They taught him how to charm mankind. They were more to him than his arms or military virtue ; and, more than *Fortune* herself, assisted him in his greatness, and made his usurp'd dominion so enchanting to the world, that it cou'd see without regret its chains of bondage firmly riveted. The corrupting sweets of such a poisonous government were not indeed long-liv'd. The bitter soon succeeded. And, in the issue, the world was forc'd to bear with patience those natural and genuine tyrants, who succeeded to this specious machine of arbitrary and universal power.

AND now that I am fall'n unawares into such profound reflections on the periods of government, and the flourishing and decay of *liberty* and *letters* ; I can't be contented to consider merely of the enchantment which wrought so powerfully upon mankind, when first this universal monarchy was establish'd. I must wonder still more, when I consider how after the extinction of this CÆSAREAN and CLAUDIAN family, and a short interval of Princes rais'd and destroy'd with much disorder and publick ruin, the ROMANS should regain their perishing dominion, and retrieve their sinking state, by an after-race of wise and able princes successively adopted, and taken from a private state to rule the empire of the world. They were men who not only possess'd the military virtues, and supported that sort of discipline in the highest degree ; but as they sought the interest of the world, they did what was in their power to restore *liberty*, and raise again the perishing *arts*, and

\* *Infra*, p. 182, 183. in the notes.

Part 2. decay'd *virtue* of mankind. But the season was now past! The fatal form of government was become too natural: and the world, which had bent under it, and was become slavish and independent, had neither power nor will to help it-self. The only deliverance it cou'd expect, was from the merciless hands of the *Barbarians*, and a total dissolution of that enormous empire and despotick power, which the best hands cou'd not preserve from being destructive to human nature. For even *Barbarity* and *Gothicism* were already enter'd into arts, e'er the savages had made any impression on the empire. All the advantage which a fortuitous and almost miraculous succession of good princes cou'd procure their highly favour'd arts and sciences, was no more than to preserve during their own time those \* perishing remains, which had for a while with difficulty subsisted, after the decline of *liberty*. Not a statue, not a medal, not a tolerable piece of architecture cou'd shew it-self afterwards. Philosophy, wit and learning, in which some of those good princes had themselves been so renown'd, fell with them: and ignorance and darkness overspread the world, and fitted it for the *chaos* and ruin which ensu'd.

WE ARE now in an age when LIBERTY is once again in its ascendant. And we are our-selves the happy nation, who not only enjoy it at home, but by our greatness and power give life and vigour to it abroad; and are the head and chief of the EUROPEAN league, founded on this *common cause*. Nor can it (I presume) be justly fear'd that we shou'd lose this noble ardour, or faint under the glorious toil; tho, like antient GREECE, we shou'd for succeeding ages be contending with a foreign power, and endeavouring to reduce the exorbitancy of a *grand monarch*. 'Tis with us at present, as with

\* *Infra*, p. 161, 229. in the notes.



the *Roman* people in those \* early days, when they Sect. 1.  
 wanted only repose from arms to apply themselves  
 to the improvement of arts and studys. We shou'd,  
 in this case, need no ambitious monarch to be al-  
 lur'd, by hope of fame or secret views of power,  
 to give pensions abroad, as well as at home, and  
 purchase flattery from every profession and science.  
 We shou'd find a better fund within ourselves, and  
 might, without such assistance, be able to excel, by  
 our own virtue and emulation.

WELL it wou'd be indeed, and much to the ho-  
 nour of our *Nobles* and *Princes*, wou'd they freely  
 help in this affair; and by a judicious application of  
 their bounty, facilitate this happy birth, of which  
 I have ventur'd to speak in a prophetick stile.  
 'Twou'd be of no small advantage to 'em during  
 their life; and wou'd more than all their other la-  
 bours procure 'em an immortal memory. For they  
 must remember that their fame is in the hands of  
*penmen*: and that the greatest actions lose their  
 force, and perish in the custody of unable and mean  
 writers.

LET a nation remain ever so rude and barbarous,  
 it must have its *Poets*, *Rhapsoders*, *Historiogra-  
 phers*, *Antiquarys* of some kind or other, whose bu-  
 siness it will be to recount its remarkable transacti-  
 ons, and record the atchievements of its *civil* and  
*military* heroes. And tho' the *military* kind may  
 happen to be the furthest remov'd from any ac-  
 quaintance with *letters*, or the *MUSES*; they are  
 yet, in reality, the most interested in the cause and  
 party of these *remembrancers*. The greatest share  
 of fame and admiration falls naturally on the *arm'd*  
*worthys*. The great *in council* are second in the  
*MUSES* favour. But if worthy poetick *genius's*

\* *Serus enim Graecis admovit acumina chartis;  
 Et post Punica bella quietus, quaerere caput,  
 Quid Sophocles & Thespis & Aeschylus utile ferrent.*

Hor. Epist. 1. lib. 2.

Part 2. are not found, nor able penmen rais'd, to rehearse the lives, and celebrate the high actions of great men, they must be traduc'd by such *recorders* as chance presents. We have few modern heroes, who like XENOPHON or CÆSAR can write their own *commentarys*. And the raw *memoir*-writings and unform'd pieces of modern statesmen, full of their interested and private views, will in another age be of little service to support their memory or name; since already the world begins to sicken with the kind. 'Tis the learn'd, the able, and disinterested *historian*, who takes place at last. And when the signal *poet*, or *herald of fame* is once heard, the inferior trumpets sink in silence and oblivion.

BUT supposing it were possible for the *hero*, or *statesman*, to be absolutely unconcern'd for his memory, or what came after him; yet for the present merely, and during his own time, it must be of importance to him to stand fair with the men of letters and ingenuity, and to have the character and reputation of being favourable to their art. Be the illustrious person ever so high or awful in his station; he must have descriptions made of him, in verse, and prose, under feign'd, or real appellations. If he be omitted in sound *ode*, or lofty *epick*; he must be sung at least in *doggrel* and plain *ballad*. The people will needs have his *effigies*; tho they see his person ever so rarely: and if he refuses to sit to the good painter, there are others who, to oblige the publick, will take the design in hand. We shall take up with what presents; and rather than be without the illustrious physiognomy of our great man, shall be contented to see him portraiture'd by the artist who serves to illustrate prodigys in *fairs*, and adorn heroick *sign-posts*. The ill paint of this kind cannot, 'tis true, disgrace his excellency; whose privilege it is, in common with the royal issue, to be rais'd to this degree of honour, and to invite the passenger or traveller by his signal representative. 'Tis suppos'd

in this case, that there are better pictures current of Sect. 1. the hero; and that such as these, are no true or favourable representations. But in another sort of limning, there is great danger lest the hand shou'd disgrace the subject. Vile *encomiums*, and wretched *panegyricks* are the worst of *satires*: and when sordid and low genius's make their court successfully in one way, the generous and able are aptest to revenge it in another.

ALL THINGS consider'd, as to the interest of our *potentates* and *GRANDEES*, they appear to have only this choice left 'em; either wholly, if possible, to suppress *letters*; or give a helping hand towards their support. Wherever the *author-practice* and *liberty of the pen* has in the least prevail'd, the governors of the state must be either considerable gainers, or sufferers by its means. So that 'twou'd become them either, by a right *Turkish* policy, to strike directly at the *profession*, and overthrow the very *art* and *mystery* it-self, or with alacrity to support and encourage it, in the right manner, by a generous and *impartial* regard to merit. To act narrowly, or by halves; or with indifference, and coolness; or fantastically and by humour merely; will scarce be found to turn to their account. They must do justice; that justice may be done them, in return. 'Twill be in vain for our *ALEXANDERS* to give orders that none besides a *LYSIPPUS* shou'd make their statue, nor any besides an *APELLES* shou'd draw their picture. Insolent intruders will do themselves the honour to practise on the features of these heroes. And a vile *CHÆRILUS*, after all, shall, with their own consent perhaps, supply the room of a deserving and noble artist.

IN a government where *the people* are sharers in power, but no distributors or dispensers of rewards, they expect it of their *princes* and *great men*, that they shou'd supply the generous part; and bestow

Part 2. honour and advantages on those from whom the nation it-self may receive honour and advantage. 'Tis expected that they who are high and eminent in the *state*, shou'd not only provide for its necessary safety and subsistence, but omit nothing which may contribute to its dignity and honour. The *arts* and *sciences* must not be left *patron-less*. The publick it-self will join with the good wits and judges, in the resentment of such a neglect. 'Tis no small advantage, even in an *absolute government*, for a ministry to have wit on their side, and engage the men of merit in this kind to be their well-wishers and friends. And in those *states* where ambitious leaders often contend for the supreme authority, 'tis a considerable advantage to the ill cause of such pretenders, when they can obtain a name and interest with the men of letters. The good Emperor TRAJAN, tho himself no mighty scholar, had his due as well as an AUGUSTUS; and was as highly celebrated for his munificence, and just encouragement of every art and virtue. And CÆSAR, who cou'd write so well himself, and maintain'd his cause by wit as well as arms, knew experimentally what it was to have even a CATULLUS his enemy: and tho lash'd so often in his lampoons, continu'd to forgive and court him. The traitor knew the importance of this *mildness*. May none who have the same designs, understand so well the advantages of such a conduct! I wou'd have requir'd only this one defect in CÆSAR's generosity, to have been secure of his never rising to greatness, or enslaving his native country. Let him have shewn a ruggedness and austerity towards free genius's, or a neglect or contempt towards men of wit; let him have trusted to his *arms*, and declar'd against *arts* and *letters*; and he wou'd have prov'd a second MARIUS, or a CATILINE of meaner fame, and character.

'Tis, I know, the imagination of some who are

call'd *great men*, that in regard of their high station they may be esteemed to pay a sufficient tribute to letters, and discharge themselves as to their own part in particular, if they chuse indifferently any subject for their bounty, and are pleas'd to confer their favour either on some one pretender to art, or promiscuously to such of the tribe of writers, whose chief ability has lain in making their court well, and obtaining to be introduc'd to their acquaintance. This they think sufficient to instal them *patrons of wit*, and masters of the *literate order*. But this method will of any other the least serve their interest or design. The ill placing of rewards is a double injury to merit; and in every cause or interest passes for worse than mere indifference or neutrality. There can be no excuse for making an ill choice. Merit in every kind is easily discover'd, when sought. The publick it-self fails not to give sufficient indication; and points out those *genius's* who want only countenance and encouragement to become considerable. An ingenious man never starves unknown: and *great men* must wink hard, or 'twou'd be impossible for 'em to miss such advantageous opportunitys of shewing their generosity, and acquiring the universal esteem, acknowledgments, and good wishes of the ingenious and learned part of mankind.

## S E C T. II.

WHAT judgment therefore we are to form, concerning the influence of our *grandees* in matters of art, and letters, will easily be gather'd from the reflections already made. It may appear from the very freedom we have taken in censuring these *men of power*, what little reason authors have to plead 'em as their excuse for any failure in the improvement of their art and talent. For in a free

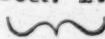


Part 2. country, such as ours, there is not any order or rank of men, more free than that of *writers* : who if they have real ability and merit, can fully right themselves when injur'd ; and are ready furnish'd with means, sufficient to make themselves consider'd by the men in highest power.

NOR shou'd I suspect the genius of our writers, or charge 'em with meanness and insufficiency on the account of this low spiritedness which they discover ; were it not for another sort of fear, by which they more plainly betray themselves, and seem conscious of their own defect. The CRITICKS, it seems, are formidable to 'em. The CRITICKS are the dreadful *spectres*, the *giants*, the *enchanters*, who traverse and disturb 'em in their works. These are the persecutors, for whose sake they are ready to hide their heads ; begging rescue and protection of all good people ; and flying in particular to *the great*, by whose favour they hope to be defended from this merciless *examining* race. " For what " can be more cruel, than to be forc'd to submit " to the rigorous *laws of wit*, and write under such " severe *judges* as are deaf to all courtship, and can " be wrought upon by no insinuation or flattery to " pass by faults, and pardon any transgression of " *art* ?"

To judg indeed of the circumstances of a modern *author*, by the pattern of his \* *prefaces*, *dedications*, and *introductions*, one wou'd think that at the moment when a piece of his was in hand, some con-juration was forming against him, some diabolical powers drawing together to blast his work, and cross his generous design. He therefore rouzes his indignation, hardens his forehead, and with many furious *defiances* and *avant-SATANS* ! enters on his business : not with the least regard to what may justly be objected to him in a way of CRITICISM ; but

\* *Infra*, p. 221, 222. And VOL. III. p. 177, 188. in the notes.

with an absolute contempt of the *manner* and *art* Sect. 2.  
itself. 

ODI *profanum vulgus & arceo*, was in its time, no doubt, a generous *defiance*. The *avant!* was natural and proper in its place; especially where religion and virtue were the Poet's theme. But with our moderns the case is generally the very reverse. And accordingly the *defiance* or *avant* shou'd run much after this manner: "As for you vulgar souls, mere *naturals*, who know no *art*, were never admitted into the temple of wisdom, nor ever visited the sanctuaries of wit or learning, gather yourselves together from all parts, and hearken to the song or tale I am about to utter. But for you men of science and understanding, who have ears and judgment, and can weigh sense, scan syllables, and measure sounds: you who by a certain *art* distinguish *false thought* from *true*, *correctness* from *rudeness*, and *bombast* and *chaos* from *order* and *the sublime*; away hence! or stand aloof! whilst I practise upon the easiness of those mean capacitys and apprehensions, who make the most numerous audience, and are the only competent judges of my labours."

'Tis strange to see how differently the vanity of mankind runs, in different times and seasons. 'Tis at present the boast of almost every enterprizer in the Muses art, "That by his genius alone, and a natural rapidity of stile and thought, he is able to carry all before him; that he plays with his business, does things in passing, at a venture, and in the quickest period of time." In the days of ATTICK *elegance*, as works were then truly of another form and turn, so workmen were of another humour, and had their vanity of a quite contrary kind. They become rather affected in endeavouring to discover the pains they had taken to be correct. They were glad to insinuate how laboriously, and with what expence of time, they had brought the smallest work of theirs (as perhaps a single *ode*

Part 2. or *satir*, an *oration* or *panegyrick*) to its perfection. When they had so polish'd their piece, and render'd it so natural and easy, that it *seem'd* only a lucky flight, a hit of thought, or flowing vein of humour; they were then chiefly concern'd lest it shou'd in *reality* pass for such, and their artifice remain undiscover'd. They were willing it shou'd be known how serious their play was; and how elaborate their freedom and facility: that they might say as the agreeable and polite Poet, glancing on himself,

\* *Ludentes speciem dabit & torquebitur* —  
And,

————— † *Ut sibi quisvis*  
*Speret idem; sudet multum, frustra que laboret*  
*Ausus idem: tantum series juncturaque pollet.*

SUCH accuracy of workmanship requires a CRITICK's eye. 'Tis lost upon a vulgar judgment. Nothing grieves a *real artist* more than that indifference of the publick, which suffers *work* to pass *uncriticiz'd*. Nothing, on the other side, rejoices him more than the nice view and inspection of the accurate *examiner* and *judg of work*. 'Tis the mean *genius*, the slovenly performer, who knowing nothing of *true workmanship*, endeavours by the best outward gloss and dazzling shew, to turn the eye from a direct and steady survey of his piece.

WHAT is there which an expert *Musician* more earnestly desires, than to perform his part in the presence of those who are knowing in his art? 'Tis to the ear alone, he applies himself; the critical, the nice ear. Let his hearers be of what *character* they please: be they naturally austere, morose, or rigid; no matter, so they are *criticks*, able to censure, remark, and sound every accord and symphony. What is there mortifies the good *Painter* more, than when amidst his admiring spectators there is not

\* Hor. *Epist.* 2. lib. 2.

† Id. de *Arte Poet.*

one present, who has been us'd to compare the hands Sect. 2.  
 of different masters, or has *an eye* to distinguish the  
 advantages or defects of every stile? Thro all the  
 inferior orders of *mechanicks*, the rule is found to  
 hold the same. In every science, every art, the  
 real *masters*, or *proficients*, rejoice in nothing more,  
 than in the thorow search and examination of their  
 performances, by all the rules of art and nicest *cri-*  
*ticism*. Why therefore (in the *MUSES* name!) is  
 it not the same with our pretenders to the writing  
 art, our *poets* and *prose-authors* in every kind?  
 Why in this profession are we found such *critick-*  
*masters*, and indulg'd in this unlearned aversion; un-  
 less it be taken for granted, that as wit and learning  
 stand at present in our nation, we are still upon the  
 foot of *empiricks* and *mountebanks*?

FROM these considerations, I take upon me abso-  
 lutely to condemn the fashionable and prevailing cu-  
 stom of inveighing against *CRITICKS*, as the com-  
 mon enemys, the pests, and incendiarys of the com-  
 monwealth of wit and letters. I assert, on the con-  
 trary, that they are the *props* and *pillars* of this  
 building; and that without the encouragement and  
 propagation of such a race, we shou'd remain as *Go-*  
*thick architects* as ever.

\* IN THE weaker and more imperfect societys  
 of mankind, such as those compos'd of federate  
*tribes*, or mix'd *colonys*, scarce settled in their new  
 seats, it might pass for sufficient good-fortune, if  
 the people prov'd only so far masters of language, as  
 to be able to understand one another, in order to  
 confer about their wants, and provide for their com-  
 mon necessitys. Their expos'd and indigent state  
 shou'd not be presum'd to afford 'em either that full  
 leisure, or easy disposition which was requisite to  
 raise 'em to any curiosity of speculation. They who

\* As to this, and what remains of the section, see  
 Vol. III. p. 95, &c.

Part 2. were neither safe from violence, nor secure of plenty, were unlikely to engage in unnecessary arts. Nor cou'd it be expected they shou'd turn their attention towards the numbers of their language, and the harmonious sounds which they accidentally emitted. But when, in process of time, the affairs of the society were settled on an easy and secure foundation; when *debates* and *discourses* on these subjects of common interest, and publick good, were grown familiar; and the *speeches* of prime men, and leaders were consider'd, and compar'd together: there wou'd naturally be observ'd not only a more agreeable measure of sound, but a happier and more easy rangement of thoughts, in one speaker, than in another.

IT may easily be perceiv'd from hence, that the *Goddeſs* PERSUASION must have been in a manner the mother of *poetry*, *rhetorick*, *musick*, and the other kindred arts. For 'tis apparent, that where chief men, and leaders had the strongest interest to *persuade*: they us'd the highest endeavours to *please*. So that in such a *state* or *polity* as has been describ'd, not only the best order of thought, and turn of fancy, but the most soft and inviting numbers must have been employ'd, to charm the *publick ear*, and to incline the *heart*, by the agreeableness of expression.

ALMOST all the antient *masters* of this sort were said to have been MUSICIANS. And *tradition*, which soon grew fabulous, cou'd not better represent the first *founders* or *establishers* of these large societys, than as real *songsters*, who by the power of their voice and lyre, cou'd charm the wildest beasts, and draw the rude forests and rocks into the form of fairest cities. Nor can it be doubted that the same *artists*, who so industriously apply'd themselves to study the numbers of *speech*, must have made proportionable improvements in the study of mere sounds and *natural harmony*; which, of itself, must have considerably contributed towards the softening the rude manners and harsh temper of their new people.



IF therefore it so happen'd in these *free* communi- Sect. 2.  
 tys, made by consent and voluntary association, that  
 after a while, the power of *one*, or of a *few*, grew  
 prevalent over the rest; if *FORCE* took place, and  
 the affairs of the society were administer'd with-  
 out their concurrence, by the influence of *awe* and  
*terror*: it follow'd, that these pathetick sciences and  
 arts of speech were little cultivated, since they were  
 of little use. But where *PERSUASION* was the chief  
 means of guiding the society; where the people were  
 to be convinc'd before they acted; there *elocution*  
 became considerable; there *orators* and *bards* were  
 heard; and the chief genius's and *sages* of the nati-  
 on betook themselves to the study of those arts, by  
 which the people were render'd more treatable in a  
 way of reason and understanding, and more subject  
 to be led by men of science and erudition. The more  
 these *artists* courted the publick, the more they in-  
 structed it. In such *constitutions* as these, 'twas the  
 interest of the wise and able, that the community  
 shou'd be judges of ability and wisdom. The high  
 esteem of ingenuity was what advanc'd the ingenious  
 to the greatest honours. And they who rose by sci-  
 ence, and politeness in the higher arts, cou'd not  
 fail to promote that *taste* and *relish* to which they  
 ow'd their personal distinction and pre-eminence.

HENCE it is that those *arts* have been deliver'd to  
 us in such perfection, by *free nations*; who from  
 the nature of their government, as from a proper  
 soil, produc'd the generous plants: whilst the migh-  
 tiest bodys, and vastest empires, govern'd by *force*,  
 and a *despotick power*, cou'd, after ages of peace  
 and leisure, produce no other than what was de-  
 termin'd and barbarous of the kind.

WHEN the *persuasive* arts were grown thus into  
 repute, and the power of moving the affections be-  
 came the study and emulation of the forward *wits*  
 and aspiring *genius's* of the times; it wou'd necessa-  
 rily happen that many genius's of equal size and  
 strength, tho less covetous of publick applause, of

Part 2. power, or of influence over mankind, wou'd content themselves with the *contemplation* merely of these enchanting arts. These they wou'd the better enjoy, the more they refin'd their *taste*, and cultivated their *ear*. For to all musick there must be an ear proportionable. There must be an art of *hearing* sound, e'er the performing arts can have their due effect, or any thing exquisite in the kind be felt or comprehended. The just performers therefore in each art, wou'd naturally be the most desirous of improving and refining the publick ear; which they cou'd no way so well effect as by the help of those latter *genius's*, who were in a manner their *interpreters* to the people; and who by their example taught the publick to discover what was just and excellent in each performance.

HENCE was the origin of CRITICKS; who, as arts and sciences advanc'd, wou'd necessarily come withal into repute; and being heard with satisfaction in their turn, were at length tempted to become *authors*, and appear in publick. These were honour'd with the name of *Sophists*: a character which in early times was highly respected. Nor did the gravest *Philosophers*, who were censors of manners, and CRITICKS of a higher degree, disdain to exert their *criticism* in the inferior arts; especially in those relating to *speech*, and the power of *argument* and *persuasion*.

WHEN such a race as this was once risen, 'twas no longer possible to impose on mankind, by what was specious and pretending. The publick wou'd be paid in no false wit, or jingling eloquence. Where the *learned* CRITICKS were so well received, and *Philosophers* themselves disdain'd not to be of the number; there cou'd not fail to arise *Criticks* of an inferior order, who wou'd subdivide the several provinces of this empire. *Etymologists*, *Philologists*, *Grammarians*, *Rhetoricians*, and others of considerable note, and eminent in their degree, wou'd every where appear, and vindicate the truth and justice of

their art, by revealing the hidden beautys which lay Sect. 2. in the works of just performers; and by exposing the weak sides, false ornaments, and affected graces of mere pretenders. Nothing of what we call *sophistry* in argument, or *bombast* in stile; nothing of the *effeminate* kind, or of the false *tender*, the pointed *witticism*, the disjointed *thought*, the crouded *simile*, or the mix'd *metaphor*, cou'd pass even on the common ear: whilst the NOTARYS, the EXPOSITORS, and PROMPTERS above-mentioned, were every where at hand, and ready to explode the *unnatural manner*.

'Tis easy to imagine, that amidst the several stiles and manners of discourse or writing, the easiest attain'd, and earliest practis'd, was the *miraculous*, the *pompous*, or what we generally call the *SUBLIME*. *Astonishment* is of all other passions the easiest rais'd in raw and unexperienc'd mankind. Children in their earliest infancy are entertain'd in this manner: and the known way of pleasing such as these, is to make 'em wonder, and lead the way for 'em in this passion, by a feign'd surprize at the miraculous objects we set before 'em. The best musick of *Barbarians* is hideous and astonishing sounds. And the fine sights of *Indians* are enormous figures, various odd and glaring colours, and whatever of that sort is amazingly beheld, with a kind of horroure and consternation.

In poetry, and study'd prose, the *astonishing* part, or what commonly passes for *sublime*, is form'd by the variety of figures, the multiplicity of † metaphors, and by quitting as much as possible the natural and

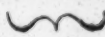
† Δίξας ὅ ἀρετὴν ὁρᾷ καὶ μὴ ταπεινὴν εἶναι. Σαρξάτη μὲν ἔν ἐστιν ἢ ἐκ τῶν κυρίων ὀνομάτων, ἀλλὰ ταπεινὴ. - - - Σιμνὴ ὅ ἢ ἐξαλλάττωσα τὸ ἰδιωτικόν, ἢ τοῖς ξενικοῖς κειρημένη. Ξενικὴν ὅ λίσσῃ, γλωτταν, καὶ μεταφορὰν, καὶ ἐπέκτασιν, καὶ πάν τὸ παρὰ τὸ κύριον. Ἄλλ' ἂν τις ἀμα ἅπαντα τὰ τοιαῦτα ποιήσῃ, ἢ αἰνίσμα' εἶσαι, ἢ βαρβαρισμός. Ἄν μὲν ὦν ἐκ μεταφορᾶν, αἰνίσμα' ἰάν ὃ ἐκ γλωττῶν, καὶ βαρβαρισμός. Arist. de Poet. cap. 22. This the same Master-critick explains further in his *Rhetoricks*, lib. 3. cap. 1. where he refers to these passages of his *Poeticks*. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ Ποιῆται λέγον-

Part 2. easy way of expression, for that which is most unlike to humanity, or ordinary use. This the Prince of criticks assures us to have been the manner of the earliest poets, before the age of HOMER; or till such time as this Father-poet came into repute, who depos'd that spurious race, and gave rise to a legitimate and genuine kind. He retain'd only what was decent of the *figurative* or *metaphorick* stile, introduc'd the *natural* and *simple*; and turn'd his thoughts towards the real beauty of composition, the unity of design, the truth of characters, and the just imitation of nature in each particula.

\* THE manner of this Father-poet was afterwards variously imitated, and divided into several shares; especially when it came to be copy'd in *dramatick*. TRAGEDY came first; and took what was most *solemn* and *sublime*. In this part the Poets succeeded sooner than in COMEDY or the *facetious* kind; as was natural indeed to suppose, since this was in reality the easiest manner of the *travo*, and capable of being brought the soonest to perfection. For so the same Prince of Criticks † sufficiently informs us.

τε; ἀήθη, διὰ τὴν λῆξιν ἰδόντων πορίσασθαι, τὴν δὲ τὴν δῆξαν, διὰ τὸ τοιοῦτον πρῶτον ἐγένετο λῆξις, - - - ἥ νυν ἔτι οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀπαιδευτῶν, τὸς τοιούτους οἰοῦνται διαλέγεσθαι κάλλιστα. τὸτο ὃ ἔκ ἐστιν. - - - ὅδε γὰρ οἱ τὰς τραγωδίας ποιῶντες, ἔτι χράνται τῷ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ. Ἀλλ' ὅστις ἔκ τῶν τετραμετρῶν εἰς τὸ ἰαμβεῖον μετέβηκεν, διὰ τὸ τῷ λόγῳ τὸτο τῶν μέτρων ὁμοιωτάτων εἶναι τῶν ἄλλων. ὕτω ἡ τῶν ὀνομάτων ἀρήκασιν, ὅσα παρὰ τὴν διάλεκτον εἰσιν. - - - ἡ ἔτι νῦν οἱ τὰ ἐξαμέτρα ποιῶντες, ἀρήκασιν. Διὸ γελοῖον μιμεῖσθαι τοῦτο, οἱ αὐτοὶ ἔκ ἐτι χράνται ἐκείνῳ τῷ τρόπῳ. That among the early reformers of this bombastick manner, he places HOMER as the chief, we may easily see in his *Poeticks*. As particularly in that passage (chap. 24) Ἐπὶ τὰς διανοίας ἡ τὴν λῆξιν ἔχειν κάλλος, οἷς ἅπασιν Ὅμηρος κίχεται ἡ πρῶτος ἡ ἰανῆς. - - - Πρὸς ὃ τούτοις λῆξις ἡ διανοία πάντας ὑπερβύλλει.

† Γενομένης ἂν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτοσχιδιαστικῆς, ἡ αὐτὴ ἡ ἡ Κωμωδία, &c. De Poet. cap. 4. When he has compar'd both this and Tragedy together, he recapitulates in his next

And 'tis highly worth remarking, what this mighty ge- Sect. 2.  
nius and judg of arts declares concerning TRAGEDY;  that whatever idea might be form'd of the utmost perfection of this kind of poem, it cou'd in practice rise no higher that it had been already carry'd in his time; ‡ "Having at length (says he) attain'd its "ends, and being apparently consummate in it-self:" but for COMEDY, it seems, 'twas still in hand. It

chapter, 'Αἰ μὲν ὅν τῆς Τραγῳδίας μεταβαλεῖς, ἢ δὲ ὧν ἐγίνοντο, ὃ λελήθαριν. Ἡ δὲ Καμῳδία, διὰ τὸ μὴ Στυδαῖσται ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ἔλαθεν. Καὶ γὰρ χρόνον Καμῳδῶν ὁπότε ὁ Ἀρχαν ἰδῶκεν, &c. cap. 5. See VOL. III. p. 97. in the notes.

‡ Καὶ πολλὰς μεταβολὰς μεταβαλῶσα ἡ Τραγῳδία ἱπανέτατο, ἐπεὶ ἔχε τὴν ἰαυτῆς φύσιν. Cap. 4. So true a Prophet as well as Critick was this great man. For by the event it appear'd that tragedy being rais'd to its height by SOPHOCLES and EURIPIDES, and no room left for further excellence or emulation; there were no more tragic Poets besides these endur'd, after the author's time. Whilst Comedy went on, improving still to the second and third degree; Tragedy finish'd its course under EURIPIDES: whom, tho our great author criticizes with the utmost severity, in his Poeticks; yet he plainly enough confesses to have carry'd the stile of tragedy to its full height and dignity. For as to the reformation which that Poet made in the use of the sublime and figurative speech, in general; see what our discerning author says in his rhetoricks: where he strives to shew the impertinence and nauseousness of the florid speakers, and such as understood not the use of the simple and natural manner. "The just masters "and right managers of the poetick or high stile, shou'd "learn (says he) how to conceal the manner as much as "possible." Διο δι' λανθάνειν ποιῶντας, ἢ μὴ δοκεῖν λείπειν πεπλασμένους, ἀλλὰ περυσίους. τῦτο γὰρ πιθανόν. Ἐκεῖνο ὅ, τῶναντίον. Ὡς γὰρ πρὸς ἐπιβαλεῖν διαβάλλονται, καὶ ἄπὸ πρὸς τῆς οὐκ τῆς μεμεινένους. Καὶ οἷον ἡ Θειοδῶρι φανερὸν ποῖντε πρὸς τῶν ἄλλων ὑποκριτῶν ἢ μὲν γὰρ, τῷ λείποντος εἰσιν εἶναι, αἱ δ' ἄλλοτριαι κλέπεται δ' εἶδ, εἰάν τις ἐκ τῆς διαβολίας διαλέκτου ἐκλείων συντιθῇ. ὅπερ ἙΥΡΙΠΙΔΗΣ ποιεῖ, ἢ ὡς δειξέει πρῶτος. Rhet. lib. 3. cap. 2.



Part 2. had been already in some manner reduc'd ; but, as he plainly insinuates, it lay yet unfinish'd : notwithstanding the witty labours of an ARISTOPHANES, and the other comick Poets of the first manner, who had flourish'd a whole age before this critick. As perfect as were those wits in stile and language ; and as fertile in all the variety and turns of humour ; yet the truth of characters, the beauty of order, and the simple imitation of nature were in a manner wholly unknown to 'em ; or thro petulancy, or debauch of humour, were, it seems, neglected and set aside. A MENANDER had not as yet appear'd ; who rose soon after, to accomplish the prophecy of our grand master of art, and consummate *Philologist*.

COMEDY \* had at this time done little more than what the antient † *Parodys* had done before it. 'Twas of admirable use to explode the *false sublime* of early Poets, and such as in its own age were on every occasion ready to relapse into that vicious manner. The good Tragedians themselves cou'd hardly escape its lashes. The pompous Orators were its never-failing subjects. Every thing which might be imposing, by a false gravity or solemnity, was forc'd to endure the trial of this touchstone. Manners and characters, as

\* "Ωςπερ ὃ ἐ τὰ Σηδαῖα μάλιστα ποιητῆς Ὀμηρος ἦν (μόνος γὰρ ἔχ' ὅτι εὖ, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐ μιμήσεις δραματικὰς ἐποίησεν) ὣτω ἐ τὰ τῆς Κωμῆδίας σχήματα πρῶτος ὑπέδειξεν. Arist. Poet. cap. 4. No wonder if, in this descent, comedy came late. See below, p. 171. in the notes. And above, p. 134.

† The PARODYS were very antient : but they were in reality no other than mere *burlesque*, or *farce*. COMEDY, which borrow'd something from those humours, as well as from the *Phallica* below-mention'd, was not, however, rais'd to any form or shape of art (as said above) till about the time of ARISTOPHANES, who was of the *first* model, and a beginner of the kind ; at the same time that TRAGEDY had undergone all its changes, and was already come to its last perfection ; as the grand critick has shewn us, and as our other authorities plainly evince.

well as speech and writings, were discuss'd with the Sect. 2.  
greatest freedom. Nothing cou'd be better fitted than  
this genius of wit, to unmask the face of things, and  
remove those *Larvæ* naturally form'd from the tragick  
manner, and pompous stile, which had preceded:

\* *Et docuit magnumque loqui, nitique Cothurno.*  
SUCCESSIT *vetus his Comædia.* —

'Twas not by chance that this *succession* happen'd  
in GREECE, after the manner describ'd; but rather  
thro necessity, and from the reason and † nature of  
things. For in healthy bodys, nature dictates re-  
medys of her own, and provides for the cure of what  
has happen'd amiss in the growth and progress of a  
constitution. The affairs of this free people being  
in the increase; and their ability and judgment every  
day improving, as letters and arts advanc'd; they  
wou'd of course find in themselves a strength of na-  
ture, which by the help of good ferments, and a  
wholesom opposition of humours, wou'd correct in

\* *Hor. de Arte Poet.* The immediate preceding verses  
of HORACE, after his having spoken of the first tragedy  
under THESPIS, are;

*Post hunc personæ pallæque repertor honestæ*  
*Æschylus, & modicis instravit pulpita tignis,*  
*Et docuit, &c.*

Before the time of THESPIS, tragedy indeed was said to  
be, as HORACE calls it here (in a concise way) *ignotum*  
*genus*. It lay in a kind of chaos intermix'd with other  
kinds, and hardly distinguishable by its gravity and pomp  
from the humours which gave rise afterwards to comedy.  
But in a strict historical sense, as we find PLATO speak-  
ing in his MINOS, tragedy was of antienter date, and e-  
ven of the very antientest with the Athenians. His words  
are, Ἡ ὁ τραγῳδία ἐστὶ παλαιὸν ἐνθάδε, ὥς ὡς οἴονται, ἀπὸ  
Θέτιδος ἀρξαμένη, ἔδ' ἀπὸ Φρυγίου. Ἀλλ' εἰ θέλεις ἐννοῆσαι,  
πάνυ παλαιὸν αὐτὸ εὐρήσεις ὅτι τῆς ὁ τῆς πόλεως εὐρημα.

† Of this subject see more in VOL. III. p. 95, 6, 7.

Part 2. one way whatever was excessive, or *peccant* (as physicians say) in another. Thus the florid and over-sanguine humour of the *high stile* was allay'd by something of a contrary nature. The *comick* genius was apply'd, as a kind of *caustick*, to those exuberances and *fungus's* of the swoln dialect, and magnificent manner of speech. But after a while, even this remedy itself was found to turn into a disease: as medicines, we know, grow corrosive, when the fouler matters on which they wrought are sufficiently purg'd, and the obstructions remov'd.

\* ——— *In vitium libertas excidit, & vim  
Dignam lege regi.* ——— †

'TIS a great error to suppose, as some have done, that the restraining this licentious manner of wit, by law, was a violation of the liberty of the ATHENIAN state, or an effect merely of the power of foreigners; whom it little concern'd after what manner those citizens treated one another, in their comedys; or what sort of wit or humour they made choice of, for their ordinary diversions. If upon a change of government, as during the usurpation of the *Thirty*, or when that nation was humbled at any time, either by a PHILIP, an ALEXANDER, or an ANTIPATER, they had been forc'd against their *wills*, to enact such laws as these; 'tis certain they wou'd have soon repeal'd 'em, when those terrors were remov'd (as they soon were) and the people restor'd to their former libertys. For notwithstanding what this nation suffer'd *outwardly*, by several shocks receiv'd from foreign states; notwithstanding the dominion and power they lost *abroad*, they preserv'd the same government *at home*. And how passionately

\* Hor. de Arte Poet.

† It follows — *Lex est accepta, Chorusque  
Turpiter oblituit, sublato jure nocendi.*

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\* Lib  
ταὶ ἡ μὲν  
ῥαλλικαί,  
μιν, κ.

interested they were in what concern'd their diversions and publick spectacles ; how jealous and full of emulation in what related to their *poetry*, *wit*, *musick*, and other *arts*, in which they excel'd all other nations ; is well known to persons who have any comprehension of antient manners, or been the least conversant in history. Sect. 2.

NOTHING therefore cou'd have been the cause of these publick *decrees*, and of this gradual reform in the commonwealth of wit, beside the real reform of *taste* and *humour* in the commonwealth or government it-self. Instead of any abridgment, 'twas in reality an increase of *liberty*, an enlargement of the security of *property*, and an advancement of private ease and personal *safety*, to provide against what was injurious to the good name and reputation of every citizen. As this intelligence in life and manners grew greater in that experienc'd people, so the relish of wit and humour wou'd naturally in proportion be more refin'd. Thus GREECE in general grew more and more polite ; and as it advanc'd in this respect, was more averse to the obscene buffooning manner. The ATHENIANS still went before the rest, and led the way in elegance of every kind. For even their first comedy was a refinement upon some irregular attempts which had been made in that dramatick way. And the grand \* critick shews us, that in his own time the PHALLICA, or *scurrilous* and *obscene farce*, prevail'd still, and had the countenance of the magistrate, in some citys of GREECE, who were behind the rest in this reform of taste and manners.

BUT what is yet a more undeniable evidence of this *natural* and *gradual* refinement of stiles and

\* Lib de Poet. c. 4. de Tragoedia & Comoedia, scilicet, καὶ ἡ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐξαρχόντων ἔστι διθυράμβος, ἡ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν τὰ φαλλικά, ἃ ἔτι ἕ νῦν ἐν πολλαῖς τῶν πόλεων διακρίνεται νομίζονται, κατὰ μικρὸν ἠυξήθη, &c.

Part 2. manners among the antients, particularly in what concern'd their stage, is, that this very case of prohibition and restraint, happen'd among the ROMANS themselves; where no effect of foreign power, or of a home tyranny can be pretended. Their FESCENNIN, and ATELLAN way of wit, was in early days prohibited, and *lævus* made against it, for the publick's sake, and in regard to the welfare of the community: such *licentiousness* having been found in reality contrary to the just liberty of the people.

\* ————— *Dolere cruento*

*Dente laceffiti: fuit intactis quoque cura*

CONDITIONE *super COMMUNI. Quin etiam lex*  
*Pœnaque lata malo quæ nollet carmine quemquam*  
*Describi.* —————

IN defence of what I have here advanc'd, I could, besides the authority of grave † historians and chronologists, produce the testimony of one of the wisest and most serious of antient authors; whose single authority wou'd be acknowledg'd to have equal force with that of many concurring writers. He

\* Hor. *Epist. 1. lib. 2.*

† To confirm what is said of this natural succession of wit and stile, according to the several authorities above cited in the immediate preceding notes; see STRABO lib. 1. 'Ὡς δ' ἐπιπῦν, ὁ πιζὺς λόγος ὅγε κατεσκευασμένον μίμημα τῷ ποιητικῷ ἐστὶ. πρῶτα γὰρ ἡ ποιητικὴ κατὰ σπουδὴν παρῆλθεν εἰς τὸ μέσον καὶ ἑυδοκίμησεν. ἔπειτα ἐκείνην μιμούμενοι λύσαντες τὸ μέτρον, τ' ἄλλα καὶ φυλάξαντες τὰ ποιητικά, ἔγραψαν οἱ περὶ Κάδμον, καὶ Φερεκύδην, καὶ Ἐκαταίον. ἔπειτα ὑπερὸν ἀναιρέοντες αἰετὶ τῶν τοιούτων, εἰς τὸ νῦν εἶδος κατέβησαν, ὡς ἂν ἀπὸ ὕψους τινός. καθάπερ ἂν τις καὶ Κασσίου φαίνομενος ἢ ὕψασιν ἀπὸ τῆς Τραχιδίας, καὶ τῷ κατὰ τὸ ὕψος, καταβιβασθεῖσαν εἰς τὸ λοβοειδὲς νυνὶ καλύμειν.



shews us that this \* *first form'd Comedy* and scheme Sect. 2. of ludicrous wit, was introduc'd upon the neck of the *SUBLIME*. The familiar airy muse was privileg'd as a sort of *counter-pedagogue*, against the pomp, and formality of the more solemn writers. And what is highly remarkable, our author shews us, that in philosophy it-self there happen'd, almost at the very same time, a like *succession* of wit and humour; when in opposition to the sublime Philosopher, and afterwards to his † grave disciple and successor in the Academy, there arose a *comick philosophy*, in the person of another master and other disciples; who personally, as well as in their writings, were set in direct opposition to the former; not as differing in ‡ opinions or maxims, but in their stile and manner; in the turn of humour, and method of instruction.

'TIS PLEASANT enough to consider how exact the resemblance was between the lineage of *philosophy* and that of *poetry*; as deriv'd from their two chief founders, or patriarchs; in whose loins the several races lay as it were inclos'd. For as

\* Πρῶτον αἱ Τραγῳδαὶ παρήχθησαν ὑπομνηστικαὶ τῶν συμβαινόντων, καὶ ὅτι ταῦτα ἥτοι περὶ γίνεσθαι, καὶ ὅτι οὗτος ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνῆς ψυχολογίᾳ, τούτοις μὴ ἀχθεσθε ἐπὶ τῆς μέζονος ἀνῆς. - - - Μετὰ δὲ ἡ Τραγῳδία ἢ ἀρχαία Κωμῳδία παρήχθη, παιδαγωγὴν παρρησίαν ἔχουσα, καὶ τῆς ἀτυρίας ἢ ἀκρίβειας, δι' αὐτῆς τῆς εὐθυφροσύνης ὑπομνηστικὴ πρὸς δῖον τι καὶ Διογένης ταυτὶ παρελάμβανε. μετὰ ταῦτα τίς ἢ μέση Κωμῳδία, καὶ λοιπὸν ἡ νέα, &c. Μαρ. Αντ. βιβ. ια.

Οὕτως δὲ παρ' ὅλον ἢ βίον ποιῶν, καὶ ὅπου λίαν ἀξιοπιστότατα πράγματα φαντάζονται, ἀποδυμένων αὐτὰ, καὶ ἡ εὐτέλειαν αὐτῶν καθορᾶν, καὶ ἡ ἱστορίαν, ὅφ' ἡ φεμνύνεται, περιαιρεῖν. Διὸς γὰρ ὁ τύπος παραλοισῆς. Καὶ ὅτε δοκεῖς μάλιστα περὶ τὰ σπουδαῖα καταγίνεσθαι, τότε μάλιστα καταλοιπύει. ὅρα γυνὸν ὁ Κράτης, τί περὶ αὐτῶν τῶν Ξενοκράτους λέγει. Id. βιβ. ε'.

† See the citations immediately preceding.

‡ *Tunica distantia*. — Juv. Sat. 13. ver. 222.

Part 2. \* *the grand poetick SIRE* was, by the consent of all antiquity, allow'd to have furnish'd subjects both to the *tragick*, the *comick*, and every other kind of genuine poetry; so *the philosophical PATRIARCH*, in the same manner, containing within himself the several genius's of philosophy, gave rise to all those several manners in which that science was deliver'd.

HIS disciple of noble birth and lofty genius, who aspir'd to † poetry and rhetorick, took the *sublime* part, and shone above his other condisciples. He of mean birth, and poorest circumstances, whose constitution as well as condition inclin'd him most to the way we call *satirick*, took the reprov-ing part, which in his better-humour'd and more agreeable successor, turn'd into the *comick* kind, and

\* See above, p. 166. in the notes. According to this HOMERICAL lineage of poetry, *Comedy* wou'd naturally prove the *Drama* of latest birth. For the ARI-STOTLE, in the same place, cites HOMER's *Margites* as analogous to comedy, yet the *Iliad* and *Odysee*, in which the heroick stile prevails, having been ever highest in esteem, were likeliest to be first wrought and cultivated.

† His *Dialogues* were real POEMS (as has been shewn above, p. 131, &c.) This may easily be collected from the *Poeticks* of the Grand Master. We may add what is cited by ATHENÆUS from another treatise of that author.

Ὁ τὸς ἄλλους ἀπαξ ἀπλῶς κακολογήσας, ἐν μὲν τῇ πολιτικῇ "Ὀμηρον ἐξέλλων, ἃ ἔ μιμητικὴν ποίησιν, αὐτὸς δὲ (Πλάτων) τῆς Διαλόγου μιμητικῶς γράφας, ὧν τῆς ἰδίας ὑδ' αὐτὸς ἐν- τὴς ἐσιν. Πρὸ γὰρ αὐτῇ τῇθ' εἴρε τοῖς εἶδος τῶν λόγων ὁ Τίτις 'Αλιζάμενος, ὅς Νικίας ὁ Νικαεύς ἰσορεῖ ἃ Σωτηρίαν. 'Αρισ- τίδης δὲ ἐν τῷ περὶ ποιητῶν ὅπως ἱστέει, "Οὐκ ἔνδ' ἐμμετρὺς " τῆς καλυμίνης Σώφρονος Μίμης, μὴ φῶμεν εἶναι λόγους ἃ μι- " μέσεις, ἢ τῆς 'Αλιζάμειν τῷ Τίτῳ τῆς πρώτης γραφέντας " τῶν Σωκρατικῶν διαλόγων;" "Ἀντικρὺς φάσκων ὁ πολυμα- δίστατος 'Αριστοίδης πρὸ Πλάτωνος Διαλόγου γεγραφέναι ἔ 'Αλιζάμενον. Athen. lib. 11.

went upon the model of that \* antient comedy which Sect. 2. was then prevalent. But another noble disciple, whose genius was towards action, and who prov'd afterwards the greatest hero of his time, took the *genteeler* part, and *softer* manner. He joined what was deepest and most solid in philosophy, with what was easiest and most refin'd in breeding, and in the character and manner of a gentleman. Nothing cou'd be remoter than his genius was, from the scholastick, the rhetorical, or mere poetick kind. He was as distant, on one hand, from the sonorous, high, and pompous strain; as, on the other hand, from the ludicrous, mimical, or satirick.

THIS † was that natural and *simple* genius of antiquity, comprehended by so few, and so little relish'd by the vulgar. This was that philosophical MENANDER of earlier time, whose works one may wonder to see preserv'd from the same fate: since in the darker ages thro which they pass'd, they might probably be alike neglected, on the account of their like simplicity of stile and composition.

THERE is, besides the several *manners* of writing above describ'd, another of considerable authority and weight, which had its rise chiefly from the critical art it-self, and from the more accurate inspection into the works of preceding masters. The grand critick, of whom we have already spoken, was a chief and leader in this order of pen-men. For tho the SOPHISTS of elder time had treated many subjects *methodically*, and *in form*; yet this writer was the first who gain'd repute in the *methodick* kind. As the talent of this great man was more towards polite learning, and the arts, than towards the deep and solid parts of philosophy, it happen'd that in his school there was more care taken of other sciences, than of *ethicks*, *dialect*, or *logick*; which provinces

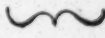
\* According to the two last citations, p. 237.

† VOL. III. p. 169.

Part 2. were chiefly cultivated by the successors of the academy and porch.

It has been observ'd of this *methodick* or *scholastick* manner, that it naturally besitted an author, who, tho' endow'd with a comprehensive and strong genius, was not in himself of a refin'd temper, bless'd by the *Graces*, or favour'd by any *Muse*; one who was not of a fruitful imagination, but rather dry and rigid; yet withal acute and piercing, accurate and distinct. For the chief nerve and sinew of this stile consists in the clear division and partition of the subjects. Tho' there is nothing *exalting* in the manner, 'tis naturally powerful and *commanding*; and, more than any other, subdues the mind, and strengthens its determinations. 'Tis from this genius that firm conclusions and steady *maxims* are best form'd: which if solidly built, and on sure ground, are the shortest and best guides towards wisdom and ability, in every kind; but if defective, or unsound, in the least part, must of necessity lead us to the grossest absurdities, and stiffest pedantry and conceit.

Now tho' every other stile and genuine manner of composition has its order and method, as well as this which, in a peculiar sense, we call *the methodick*; yet it is this manner alone which professes method, dissects it-self in parts, and makes its own anatomy. *The sublime* can no way condescend thus, or bear to be suspended in its impetuous course. *The comick*, or derisory manner, is further still from making shew of method. 'Tis then, if ever, that it presumes to give it-self this wise air, when its design is to expose the thing it-self, and ridicule the formality and sophistry so often shelter'd beneath it. *The simple* manner, which being the strictest imitation of nature, shou'd of right be the compleatest, in the distribution of its parts, and symmetry of its whole, is yet so far from making any ostentation of method, that it conceals the artifice as much as possible: endeavouring only to express the effect of art, under the appearance of the greatest ease and

negligence. And even when it assumes the censur- Sect. 2.  
ing or reproving part, it does it in the most con-  
ceal'd and gentle way. 

THE authors indeed of our age are as little capable of receiving, as of giving advice, in such a way as this: so little is the general palat form'd, as yet, to a taste of real SIMPLICITY. As for the *SUBLIME*, tho it be often the subject of criticism; it can never be the manner, or afford the means. The way of *form* and METHOD, the *didactick* or *preceptive* manner, as it has been usually practis'd amongst us, and as our ears have been long accusom'd, has so little force towards the winning our attention, that it is apter to tire us, than the metre of an old ballad. We no sooner hear the *theme* propounded, the subject divided and subdivided (with *first of the first*, and so forth, as *order* requires) but instantly we begin a strife with *nature*, who otherwise might surprize us in the soft fetters of sleep; to the great disgrace of the orator, and scandal of the audience. The only manner left, in which criticism can have its just force amongst us, is the *antient* COMICK; of which kind were the first *Roman* miscellanys, or *satirick* picces: a sort of original writing of their own, refin'd afterwards by the best genius, and politest poet of that nation; who, notwithstanding, owns the manner to have been taken from the *Greek* comedy above-mention'd. And if our home-wits wou'd refine upon this pattern, they might perhaps meet with considerable success.

IN effect, we may observe, that in our own nation, the most successful *criticism*, or method of refutation, is that which borders most on the manner of the earliest *Greek* comedy. The highly-rated \* burlesque poem, written on the subject of our religious controversys in the last age, is a sufficient

Q 2

\* HUDIBRAS.



Part 2. token of this kind. And that justly-admir'd piece of † comick wit, given us some time after by an author of the highest quality, has furnish'd our best *wits* in all their controversys, even in religion and politicks, as well as in the affairs of wit and learning, with the most effectual and entertaining method of exposing folly, pedantry, false reason, and ill writing. And without some such tolerated manner of *criticism* as this, how grossly we might have been impos'd on, and shou'd continue to be, for the future, by many pieces of dogmatical rhetorick, and pedantick wit, may easily be apprehended by those who know any thing of the state of letters in our nation, or are in the least fitted to judg of the manner of the common *poets*, or formal *authors* of the times.

IN what form, or manner soever, *criticism* may appear amongst us, or CRITICKS chuse to exert their talent; it can become none besides the grossly superstitious, or ignorant, to be alarm'd at this *spirit*. For if it be ill manag'd, and with little wit; it will be destroy'd by something wittier in the kind: If it be witty it-self, it must of necessity advance wit.

AND thus from the consideration of antient as well as modern time, it appears that the *cause* and *interest* of CRITICKS is the same with that of wit, learning, and good sense.

† The REHEARSAL. See VOL. III. p. 188. in the notes, and *ibid.* p. 191.

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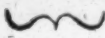
## S E C T. III.

THUS we have survey'd the state of *authors*, Sect. 3. as they are influenc'd from without ; either by the frowns or favour of *the great*, or by the applause or censure of *the criticks*. It remains only to consider, how the PEOPLE, or *world*, in general, stand affected towards our modern pen-men ; and what occasion these adventurers may have of complaint, or boast, from their encounter with the PUBLICK.

THERE is nothing more certain, than that a real *genius*, and thorow *artist*, in whatever kind, can never, without the greatest unwillingness and shame, be induc'd to act below his character, and for mere interest be prevail'd with to prostitute his *art* or *science*, by performing contrary to its known rules. Whoever has heard any thing of the lives of famous *statuaries*, *architects*, or *painters*, will call to mind many instances of this nature. Or whoever has made any acquaintance with the better sort of *mechanicks*, such as are real lovers of their art, and *masters* in it, must have observ'd their natural fidelity in this respect. Be they ever so idle, dissolute, or debauch'd ; how regardless soever of other rules ; they abhor any transgression *in their art*, and wou'd chuse to lose customers and starve, rather than by a base compliance with *the world*, to act contrary to what they call the *justness* and *truth of work*.

“ SIR,” (says a poor fellow of this kind to his rich customer) “ You are mistaken in coming to me, for such a piece of workmanship. Let who will make it for you, as you fancy ; I know it to be *wrong*. Whatever I have made hitherto, has been *true work*. And neither for your sake, or any body's else, shall I put my hand to any other.”

THIS is virtue ! *real virtue*, and love of *truth* ; independent of *opinion*, and above *the world*. This disposition transfer'd to the whole of *life*, per-

Part 2.  feets a character, and makes that *probity* and *worth* which the learned are often at such a loss to explain. For is there not a *workmanship* and a *truth* in ACTIONS? Or is the *workmanship* of this kind less becoming, or less worthy our notice; that we shou'd not in this case be as surly at least as the honest *artizan*, who has no other *philosophy*, than what *nature* and his *trade* have taught him?

WHEN one considers this zeal and honesty of inferior artists, one wou'd wonder to see those who pretend to skill and science in a higher kind, have so little regard to *truth*, and the *perfection of their art*. One wou'd expect it of our *writers*, that if they had real ability, they shou'd draw the WORLD to *them*; and not meanly sute *themselves* to the WORLD, in its weak state. We may justly indeed make allowances for the simplicity of those early *genius's* of our nation, who after so many barbarous ages, when letters lay yet in their ruins, made bold excursions into a vacant field, to seize the posts of honour, and attain the stations which were yet unpossess'd by the wits of their own country. But since the age is now so far advanc'd; learning establish'd; the rules of writing stated; and the truth of art so well apprehended, and every where confess'd and own'd: 'tis strange to see our *writers* as unshapen still and monstrous in their works, as heretofore. There can be nothing more ridiculous than to hear our POETS, in their *prefaces*, talk of art and structure; whilst in their *pieces* they perform as ill as ever, and with as little regard to those profess'd *rules of art*, as the honest BARDS, their predecessors, who had never heard of any such *rules*, or at least had never own'd their justice or validity.

HAD the early Poets of GREECE thus complimented their nation, by complying with its first relish and appetite; they had not done their countrymen such service, nor themselves such honour as we find they did, by conforming to truth and nature. The generous spirits who first essay'd the way, had

not always *the* WORLD on their side : but soon Sect. 3.  
 drew after 'em *the best judgments* ; and soon afterwards *the* WORLD it-self. They forc'd their way into it, and by weight of merit turn'd its judgment on their side. They form'd their audience ; polish'd the age ; refin'd the publick ear, and fram'd it right ; that in return they might be rightly and lastingly applauded. Nor were they disappointed in their hope. The applause soon came, and was lasting ; for it was found. They have justice done them at this day. They have surviv'd their nation ; and live, tho in a dead language. The more the age is enlighten'd, the more they shine. Their fame must necessarily last as long as letters ; and posterity will ever own their merit.

OUR modern authors, on the contrary, are turn'd and model'd (as themselves confess) by the publick relish, and current humour of the times. They regulate themselves by the irregular fancy of the world ; and frankly own they are preposterous and absurd, in order to accommodate themselves to the genius of the age. In our days *the audience makes the poet* ; and *the bookseller the author* : with what profit to *the publick*, or what prospect of lasting fame and honour to *the writer*, let any one who has judgment imagine.

BUT tho our *writers* charge their faults thus freely on *the* PUBLICK ; it will, I doubt, appear from many instances, that this practice is mere imposture : since those absurditys, which they are the aptest to commit, are far from being delightful or entertaining. We are glad to take up with what our language can afford us ; and by a sort of *emulation* with other nations, are forc'd to cry up such writers of our own, as may best serve us for comparison. But when we are out of this spirit, it must be own'd, we are not apt to discover any great fondness or admiration of our authors. Nor have we any, whom by mutual consent we make to be our *standard*. We go to *plays*, as to other *shows* ; and frequent

Part 2. the theater, as the booth. We read *epicks* and *dramaticks*, as we do *satires* and *lampoons*. For we must of necessity know what *wit* as well as what *scandal* is stirring. Read we must; let writers be ever so indifferent. And this perhaps may be some occasion of the laziness and negligence of our authors; who observing this need, which our curiosity brings on us, and making an exact calculation in the way of trade, to know justly the quality and quantity of the publick demand, feed us thus from hand to mouth; resolving not to over-stock the market, or be at the pains of more correctness or wit than is absolutely necessary to carry on the traffick.

OUR SATIR therefore is scurrilous, buffooning, and without morals or instruction; which is the majesty and life of this kind of writing. Our ENCOMIUM or PANEGYRICK is as fulsom and displeasing; by its prostitute and abandon'd manner of praise. The worthy persons who are the subjects of it, may well be esteem'd sufferers by the manner. And the publick, whether it will or no, is forc'd to make untoward reflections, when led to it by such *satirizing panegyricks*. For in reality the nerve and sinew of modern *panegyrick* lies in a dull kind of *satir*; which the author, 'tis true, intends shou'd turn to the advantage of his subject; but which, if I mistake not, will appear to have a very contrary effect.

THE usual method, which our authors take, when they wou'd commend either a *brother-author*, a *wit*, a *hero*, a *philosopher*, or a *statesman*, is to look abroad, to find within the narrow compass of their learning, some eminent names of persons, who answer'd to these characters in a former time. These they are sure to lash, as they imagine, with some sharp stroke of *satir*. And when they have stripp'd these reverend personages of all their share of merit, they think to clothe their hero with the spoils. Such is the sterility of these *encomiafts*! They know not how to praise, but by detraction. If a fair-one is to be celebrated, HELEN must in comparison be de-



form'd; VENUS her-self degraded. That a *modern* Sect. 3.  
 may be honour'd, some *antient* must be sacrific'd. ~~~~~  
 If a *poet* is to be extoll'd; down with a HOMER or  
 a PINDAR. If an *orator*, or *philosopher*, down with  
 DEMOSTHENES, TULLY, PLATO. If a *general*  
*of our army*; down with any *hero* whatever of time  
 past. "The *Romans* knew no discipline! The  
 "*Grecians* never learnt the art of war!"

WERE there an *art of writing* to be form'd upon  
 the modern practice; this method we have describ'd  
 might perhaps be stil'd *the rule of dispatch*, or *the*  
*HERCULEAN law*; by which *encomiasts*, with no  
 other weapon than their single *club*, may silence all  
 other fame, and place their *hero* in the vacant  
 throne of honour. I wou'd willingly however ad-  
 vise these *celebrators* to be a little more moderate in  
 the use of this *club-method*. Not that I pretend to  
 ask quarter for the *antients*. But for the sake mere-  
 ly of those *moderns*, whom our *panegyrist*s under-  
 take to praise, I wou'd wish 'em to be a little cautious  
 of comparing characters. There is no need to call  
 up a PUBLICOLA, or a SCIPIO, an ARISTIDES, or  
 a CATO, to serve as foils. These were patriots and  
 good generals in their time, and did their country  
 honest service. No offence to any who at present do  
 the same. The FABRICIUS's, the ÆMILIUS's,  
 the CINCINNATUS's (poor men!) may be suffer'd  
 to rest quietly: or if their ghosts shou'd, by this un-  
 lucky kind of enchantment, be rais'd in mockery and  
 contempt; they may perhaps prove troublesom in  
 earnest, and cast such reflections on our *panegyrist*s,  
 and their *modern patrons*, as may be no-way for the  
 advantage of either. The well-deserving antients  
 will have always a strong party among the wise and  
 learned of every age. And the memory of foreign  
 worthys, as well as those of our own nation, will  
 with gratitude be cherish'd by the nobler spirits of  
 mankind. The interest of *the dead* is not so disre-  
 garded, but that in case of violence offer'd them,

Part 2. thro partiality to *the living*, there are hands ready prepar'd to make sufficient reprisals.

'Twas in times when flattery grew much in fashion, that the title of *panegyrick* was appropriated to such pieces as contain'd only a profuse and unlimited praise of some single person. The antient *panegyrics* were no other than merely such writings, as authors of every kind recited at the solemn assemblies of the people. They were the exercises of the wits, and men of letters, who as well as the men of bodily dexterity bore their part at the *Olympick*, and other national and *panegyrick* games.

THE BRITISH nation, tho they have nothing of this kind ordain'd or establish'd by their laws, are yet by nature wonderfully inclin'd to the same *panegyrick* exercises. At their *fairs*, and during the time of publick *festivals*, they perform their rude *Olympicks*, and shew an activity, and address, beyond any other modern people whatever. Their *trials of skill*, 'tis true, are wholly of *the body*, not of *the brain*. Nor is it to be wonder'd at, if being left to themselves, and no way assisted by the laws or magistrate, their bodily exercises retain something of the *Barbarian* character, or, at least, shew their \*

\* Whoever has a thorow *taste* of the wit and manner of HORACE, if he only compares his epistle to AUGUSTUS (*lib. 2.*) with the secret character of that Prince from Suetonius and other authors, will easily find what judgment that Poet made of the *Roman taste*, even in the person of this sovereign and admir'd *Roman Prince*; whose natural love of amphitheatrical spectacles, and other entertainments (little accommodated to the interest of the *Muses*) is there sufficiently insinuated. The Prince indeed was (as 'tis said above, *p. 149.*) oblig'd in the highest degree to his poetical and witty friends, for guiding his taste, and forming his manners; as they really did, with good effect, and great advantage to his interest. Witness what even that flattering court-historian, DION, relates of the frank treatment which that Prince

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manners to hold more of \* ROME than GREECE. Sect. 3. The *gladiatorian*, and other sanguinary sports, which we allow our people, discover sufficiently our national taste. And the *baitings* and *slaughter* of so many sorts of creatures, tame as well as wild, for diversion merely, may witness the extraordinary inclination we have for *amphitheatrical spectacles*.

I KNOW not whether it be from this killing disposition remark'd in us, that our *satirists* prove such very slaughter-men; and even our *panegyrick* authors, or *encomiasts*, delight so much in the dispatching method above describ'd: but sure I am, that our † *dramatick* poets stand violently affected this way; and delight to make *havock* and *destruction* of every kind.

'Tis all'dg'd indeed by our stage-poets, in excuse for vile ribaldry and other gross irregularitys, both in the fable and language of their pieces; that their success, which depends chiefly on the ladys, is never so fortunate, as when this *havock* is made on virtue and good sense, and their pieces are exhibited

receiv'd from his friend MÆCENAS; who was forc'd to draw him from his bloody tribunal, and murderous delight, with the reproach of *Surge vero tandem, carnifex!* But HORACE, according to his character and circumstances, was oblig'd to take a finer and more conceal'd manner, both with the Prince and favourite.

*Omne vaser vitium ridenti FLACCUS amico*

*Tangit, & admissus circum praeccordia ludit.*

Perf. Sat. i.

See VOL. III. p. 170. in the notes.

\* We may add to this note what TACITUS or QUINTILIAN remarks on the subject of the Roman taste: *Sic vero propria & peculiaria hujus urbis vitia pene in utero matris concipi mihi videntur, histrionalis favor, & gladiatorum equorumque studia: quibus occupatus & obsessus animus quantum loci bonis artibus relinquit?* Dial. de Oratoribus, cap. 29.

† VOL. III. p. 175.

Part 2. publickly in this monstrous form. I know not how they can answer it to the fair sex, to speak (as they pretend) *experimentally*, and with such nice distinction, of their audience. How far this excuse may serve 'em in relation to *common amours* and *love-adventures*, I will not take upon me to pronounce. But I must own, I have often wonder'd to see our \* *fighting* plays become so much the entertainment of that tender sex.

THEY who have no help from learning to observe the wider periods or revolutions of human kind, the alterations which happen in manners, and the flux and reflux of politeness, wit, and art; are apt at every turn to make the present age their standard, and imagine nothing barbarous or savage, but what is contrary to the manners of their own time. The same pretended judges, had they flourish'd in our BRITAIN, at the time when CÆSAR made his first descent, wou'd have condemn'd, as a *whimsical critick*, the man who shou'd have made bold to censure our deficiency of clothing, and laugh at the blue cheeks and party-colour'd skins which were then in fashion with our ancestors. Such must of necessity be the judgment of those who are only *criticks by fashion*. But to a just *naturalist* or *humanist*, who knows the creature MAN, and judges of his growth and improvement in society, it appears evidently that we *British* men were as barbarous and unciviliz'd in respect of the *Romans* under a CÆSAR, as the *Romans* themselves were in respect of the *Grecians*, when they invaded that nation under a MUMMIUS.

THE noble wits of a court education, who can go no further back into antiquity than their pedigree will carry 'em, are able however to call to mind the different state of manners in some few reigns past, when *chivalry* was in such repute. The ladys were then spectators not only of feign'd combats and martial exercises, but of real duels and bloody feats of

arms. They sat as umpires and judges of the doughty frays. These were the faint-protectrices, to whom the champions chiefly paid their vows, and to whom they recommended themselves by these galante quarrels, and elegant decisions of right and justice. Nor is this spirit so intirely lost amongst us, but that even at this hour the fair sex inspire us still with the fancy of like gallantrys. They are the chief subject of many such civil turmoils, and remain still the secret influencing constellation by which we are engag'd to give and ask that *satisfaction*, which is peculiar to the *fine gentleman* of the age. For thus a certain galante of our court express'd the case very naturally, when being ask'd by his friends, why one of his establish'd character for courage and good sense, wou'd answer the challenge of a coxcomb; he confess'd, "That for his *own* sex, he cou'd safely trust their judgment: but how shou'd he appear at night before the *maids of honour*?"

SUCH is the different *genius* of nations; and of the same nation in different times and seasons. For so among the antients, some have been known tender of the \* sex to such a degree, as not to suffer

\* "Contra ea, pleraque nostris moribus sunt decora, quae apud illos turpia putantur. Quem enim ROMANORUM pudet uxorem ducere in convivium? Aut cuius materfamilias non primum locum tenet aedium, atque in celebritate versatur? quod multo fit aliter in GRÆCIA. Nam neque in convivium adhibetur, nisi propinquorum, neque sedet, nisi in interiore parte aedium, quae gynaeconitis appellatur: quo nemo accedit, nisi propinqua cognatione conjunctus." CORN. NEP. Praefat. See also ÆLIAN, cap. 1. lib. 10. and the story of ÆLIAN better related, as to the circumstances. "Hinc de luxu foeminas dejicere lex jubet, quae ad Olympicos ludos penetrasse deprehensae fuerint, vel quae omnino Alaphaeum transmiserint, quibus est eis interdictum diebus: non tamen deprehensam esse ullam perhibent praefat.

VOL. I. R



Part 2. 'em to expose their modesty, by the view of masculine games, or theatrical representations of any kind whatever. Others, on the contrary, have introduc'd 'em into their amphitheatres, and made 'em sharers in the cruellest spectacles.

BUT let our authors or poets complain ever so much of the genius of our people, 'tis evident, we are not altogether so *barbarous* or *Gothick* as they pretend. We are naturally no ill soil; and have musical parts which might be cultivated with great advantage, if these gentlemen wou'd use the art of masters in their composition. They have power to work upon our better inclinations, and may know by certain tokens, that their *audience* is dispos'd to receive nobler *subjects*, and taste a better *manner*, than that which, through indulgence to *themselves* more than to the *world*, they are generally pleas'd to make their choice.

BESIDES some laudable attempts which have been made with tolerable success, of late years, towards a just manner of writing, both in the heroick and familiar stile; we have older proofs of a right disposition in our people towards the moral and instructive way. Our \* old dramatick Poet may witness for our good ear and manly relish. Notwithstanding his natural rudeness, his unpolish'd stile, his antiquated phrase and wit, his want of method and coherence, and his deficiency in almost all the graces and ornaments of this kind of writing; yet by the justness of his Mo-

" ter unam Callipatiram, quam alii Pherenicem nominant.  
 " Haec viro mortuo cum virili ornatu exercitationum  
 " magistrum simulans, Pisidorum filium in certamen de-  
 " duxit; jamque eo vincente sepimentum id quo magistro  
 " seclusos habent, transiit veste amissa. Inde foemina  
 " agnitam, omni crimine liberarunt. Datum hoc ex ju-  
 " dicum aequitate, patris, fratrum, & filii gloriae; quod  
 " omnes ex Olympicis ludis victores abierant. Ex quo  
 " lege sancitum, ut nudati adessent ludis ipsis etiam ma-  
 " gistri."

\* SHAKESPEAR.

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RAL, the aptness of many of his *descriptions*, and Sect. 3. the plain and natural turn of several of his *characters*, he pleases his audience, and often gains their ear; without a single bribe from luxury or vice. That \* piece of his, which appears to have most affected *English* hearts, and has perhaps been oftenest acted of any which have come upon our stage, is almost one continu'd *moral*: a series of deep reflections, drawn from *one* mouth, upon the subject of *one* single accident and calamity, naturally fitted to move horror and compassion. It may be properly said of this play, if I mistake not, that it has only *ONE character* or *principal part*. It contains no adoration or flattery of *the sex*: no ranting at *the Gods*: no blustering *heroism*: nor any thing of that curious mixture of *the fierce and tender*, which makes the hinge of modern tragedy, and nicely varies it between the points of *love and honour*.

UPON the whole: since in the two great poetick stations, the *epick* and *dramatick*, we may observe the moral genius so naturally prevalent: since our † most approv'd *heroick poem* has neither the softness of language, nor the fashionable turn of wit; but merely solid thought, strong reasoning, noble passion, and a continu'd thred of moral doctrine, piety, and virtue to recommend it; we may justly infer, that it is not so much the *publick ear*, 'as the *ill hand* and *vicious manner* of our poets, which needs redress.

AND thus, at last, we are return'd to our old article of ADVICE; that main preliminary of *self-study* and *inward converse*, which we have found so much wanting in the authors of our time. They shou'd add the wisdom of the *heart* to the task and exercise of the *brain*, in order to bring proportion and beauty into their works. That their composition and vein of writing may be natural and free, they

\* The Tragedy of HAMLET.

† MILTON's *Paradise Lost*.

Part 2. shou'd settle matters, in the first place, with *themselves*. And having gain'd a mastery *here*; they may easily, with the help of their *genius*, and a right use of *art*, command their *audience*, and establish a *good taste*.

'Tis *on themselves*, that all depends. We have consider'd their other subjects of excuse. We have acquitted the GREAT MEN, their presumptive patrons; whom we have left to their own discretion. We have prov'd the CRITICKS not only an inoffensive, but highly useful race. And for the AUDIENCE, we have found it not so bad as might perhaps at first be apprehended.

It remains that we pass sentence on our *authors*; after having precluded 'em their last refuge. Nor do we condemn 'em on their want of *wit* or *fancy*\* but of *judgment* and *correctness*; which can only be attain'd by thorow *diligence*, *study*, and *impartial censure of themselves*. 'Tis \* MANNERS which is wanting. 'Tis a due sentiment of MORALS, which alone can make us knowing in order and proportion; and give us the just tone and measure of human passion.

So much the *Poet* must necessarily borrow of the *Philosopher*, as to be master of the common TOPICKS of morality. He must at least be *speciously* honest, and in *all appearance* a friend to virtue, thro-out his poem. The *good* and *wise* will abate him nothing in this kind. And the *people*, tho corrupt, are, in the main, best satisfy'd with this conduct.

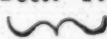
— *Speciosa LOCIS, morataque recte  
Fabula, nullius veneris, sine pondere & arte,  
Valdius oblectat populum, meliusque moratur,  
Quam versus inopes rerum, nugaeque canore.*

Hor. de Arte Poet.

\* *Supra*, p. 141. & *infra*, p. 227, 235, 236, 237. in the notes. And VOL. III. p. 163, 169, 186, 192.

## PART III.

## SECT. I.

**T**IS esteem'd the highest compliment which Sect. 1.  
 can be paid a *writer*, on the occasion of   
 some new work he has made publick, to  
 tell him, "That he has undoubtedly *surpass'd* HIM-  
 "SELF." And indeed when one observes how well  
 this compliment is receiv'd; one wou'd imagine it  
 to contain some wonderful *hyperbole* of praise. For  
 according to the strain of modern politeness; 'tis not  
 an ordinary violation of truth, which can afford a  
 tribute sufficient to answer any common degree of  
*merit*. Now 'tis well known that the gentlemen  
 whose merit lies towards *authorship*, are unwilling  
 to make the least abatement on the foot of this ce-  
 remonial. One wou'd wonder therefore to find 'em  
 so intirely satisfy'd with a form of praise, which in  
 plain sense amounts to no more than a bare affirma-  
 tive, "That they have in some manner differ'd from  
 "themselves, and are become somewhat *worse* or  
 "better, than their common rate." For if the vilest  
 writer grows *viler* than ordinary, or exceeds his na-  
 tural pitch on either side, he is justly said to *exceed*,  
 or go beyond himself.

WE find in the same manner, that there is no ex-  
 pression more generally us'd in a way of compliment  
 to great men and princes, than that plain one, which  
 is so often verifi'd, and may be safely pronounc'd  
 for truth, on most occasions; "That they have act-  
 "ed like themselves, and suitably to their own ge-  
 "nius and character." The compliment, it must  
 be own'd, sounds well. No one suspects it. For  
 what person is there who in his imagination joins not

Part 3. something worthy and deserving with his *true* and native SELF, as oft as he is refer'd to it, and made to consider, *Who he is?* Such is the *natural* affection of all mankind towards moral beauty and perfection, that they never fail in making this presumption in behalf of themselves: "That *by nature* they " have something estimable and worthy in respect of " others of their kind; and that their *genuine, true,* " and *natural SELF*, is, as it ought to be, of real " value in society, and justly honourable for the " sake of its merit, and good qualities." They conclude therefore they have height of praise allotted 'em, when they are assur'd by any-one, that they have done nothing *below themselves*, or that in some particular action, they have exceeded the ordinary *tenor* of their character.

THUS is every-one convinc'd of the reality of a *better SELF*, and of the cult or homage which is due to it. The misfortune is, we are seldom taught to comprehend this *self*, by placing it in a distinct view from its representative or counterfeit. In our holy religion, which for the greatest part is adapted to the very meanest capacities, 'tis not to be expected that a speculation of this kind shou'd be openly advanc'd. 'Tis enough that we have hints given us of a nobler *self*, than that which is commonly suppos'd the basis and foundation of our actions. *Self-interest* is there taken, as it is vulgarly conceiv'd. Tho on the other side there are, in the most \* sacred characters, examples given us of the highest contempt of all such interested views, of a willingness to suffer without recompence for the sake of others, and of a desire to part even with *life* and *being* it-self, on account of what is generous and worthy. But in the same manner as the celestial *phenomena* are in the sacred volumes generally treated according to common ima-

\* Exod. ch. xxxii. ver. 31, 32, &c. and Rom. ch. ix. ver. 1, 2, 3, &c.

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gination, and the then current system of astronomy Sect. 1. and natural science ; so *the moral appearances* are in many places preserv'd without alteration, according to vulgar prejudice, and the general conception of *interest* and *self-good*. Our *real* and *genuine* SELF is sometimes suppos'd that *ambitious one* which is fond of power and glory, sometimes that *childish one* which is taken with vain shew, and is to be invited to obedience by promise of finer habitations, precious stones and metals, shining garments, crowns, and other such dazzling beautys, by which another *earth*, or material *city*, is represented.

IT must be own'd, that even at that time, when a greater and purer light disclos'd it-self in the chosen nation ; their natural \* gloominess appear'd still, by the great difficulty they had *to know themselves*, or learn their real *interest*, after such long tutorage and instruction from above. The simplicity of that people must certainly have been very great ; when the best doctrine cou'd not go down without *a treat*, and the best disciples had their heads so running upon their *loaves*, that they were apt to construe every divine saying in a † *belly-sense*, and thought nothing more self-constituent than that inferiour receptacle. Their taste in morals cou'd not fail of being sutable to this extraordinary estimation of *themselves*. No wonder if the *better* and *nobler* SELF was left as a mystery to a people, who of all human kind were the most grossly *selfish*, crooked and perverse. So that it must necessarily be confess'd, in honour of their divine legislators, patriots, and instructors, that they exceeded all others in goodness and generosity ; since they cou'd so truly love their nation and brethren, such as they were ; and cou'd have so generous and disinterested regards for those who were in themselves so sordidly interested and undeserving.

\* *Supra*, pag. 20. and VOL. III. pag. 39,—41. and 81, &c.

† Mat. ch. xvi. ver. 6. 7, 8, &c.

Part 3. BUT whatever may be the proper effect or operation of religion, 'tis the known province of philosophy to teach us *our-selves*, keep us the *self-same* persons, and so regulate our governing fancies, passions, and humours, as to make us comprehensible to our-selves, and knowable by other features than those of a bare countenance. For 'tis not certainly by virtue of our face merely, that we are *our-selves*. 'Tis not WE who change, when our complexion or shape changes. But there is *that*, which when it is wholly metamorphos'd and converted, WE are in reality transform'd and lost.

SHOU'D an intimate friend of ours, who had endur'd many sicknesses, and run many ill adventures while he travel'd thro the remotest parts of the east, and hottest countrys of the south, return to us so alter'd in his whole outward figure, that till we had for a time convers'd with him, we cou'd not know him again to be the same person; the matter wou'd not seem so very strange, nor wou'd our concern on this account be very great. But shou'd a like face and figure of a friend return to us with thoughts and humours of a strange and foreign turn, with passions, affections, and opinions wholly different from any-thing we had formerly known; we shou'd say in earnest, and with the greatest amazement and concern, that this was *another creature*, and not *the friend* whom we once knew familiarly. Nor shou'd we in reality attempt any renewal of acquaintance or correspondence with such a person, though perhaps he might preserve in his memory the faint marks or tokens of former transactions which had pass'd between us.

WHEN a revolution of this kind, tho not so total, happens at any time in a character; when the passion or humour of a known person changes remarkably from what it once was; 'tis to *philosophy* we then appeal. 'Tis either the want or weakness of this principle, which is charg'd on the delinquent. And

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on this bottom it is, that we often challenge our- Sect. 1.  
selves, when we find such variation in our manners; and observe that it is not always *the same self*, nor *the same interest* we have in view; but often a direct contrary-one, which we serve still with the same passion and ardour. When from a noted liberality we change perhaps to as remarkable a parsimony; when from indolence and love of rest we plunge into busi-ness; or from a busy and severe character, abhorrent from the tender converse of the fair sex, we turn on a sudden to a contrary passion, and become amorous, or uxorious: we acknowledg the weakness; and charging our defect on the general want of *philosophy*, we say (sighing) "That, indeed, we "none of us truly *know our-selves*." And thus we recognize the authority and proper object of philosophy; so far at least, that tho we pretend not to be compleat *philosophers*, we confess, "That as we have "more or less of this intelligence or comprehension "of our-selves, we are accordingly more or less "truly MEN, and either more or less to be depend- "ed on, in friendship, society, and the commerce "of life."

THE *fruits* of this science are indeed the fairest imaginable; and, upon due trial, are found to be as well relish'd, and of as good savour with mankind. But when invited to the speculation, we turn our eyes on that which we suppose the *tree*, 'tis no wonder if we slight the *gardener'ship*, and think the manner of culture a very contemptible mystery. "*Grapes*, 'tis said, *are not gather'd from thorns; "nor figs from thistles*." Now if in the literate world there be any choking weed, any thing purely *thorn or thistle*, 'tis in all likelihood that very kind of plant which stands for \* *philosophy* in some famous schools. There can be nothing more ridiculous than to expect that *manners* or *understanding*

\* *Infra*, p. 224, 225. and Vol. II. p. 120, 121.

Part 3. shou'd sprout from such a stock. It pretends indeed some relation to *manners*, as being definitive of the natures, essences, and propertys of spirits; and some relation to *reason*, as describing the shapes and forms of certain instruments imploy'd in the reasoning art. But had the craftiest of men, for many ages together, been imploy'd in finding out a method to confound *reason*, and degrade the *understanding* of mankind; they cou'd not perhaps have succeeded better, than by the establishment of such a *mock-science*.

I KNEW once a notable *Enthusiast* of the itinerant kind, who being upon a high spiritual adventure in a country where prophetick missions are treated as no jest, was, as he told me, committed a close prisoner, and kept for several months, where he saw no manner of light. In this banishment from letters and discourse, the man very wittily invented an amusement much to his purpose, and highly preferative both of health and humour. It may be thought perhaps, that of all seasons or circumstances here was one the most futable to our oft-mention'd practice of *SOLILOQUY*; especially since the prisoner was one of those whom in this age we usually call *philosophers*, a successor of *PARACELsus*, and a master in the occult sciences. But as to *moral science*, or any thing relating to *self-converse*, he was a mere novice. To work therefore he went, after a different method. He tun'd his natural pipes not after the manner of a musician, to practise what was melodious and agreeable in sounds, but to fashion and form all sorts of articulate voices the most distinctly that was possible. This he perform'd by strenuously exalting his voice, and essaying it in all the several dispositions and configurations of his throat and mouth. And thus bellowing, roaring, snarling, and otherwise variously exerting his organs of sound, he endeavour'd to discover what letters of the alphabet cou'd best design each species, or what

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new letters were to be invented, and mark the undis- Sect. 1.  
cover'd modifications. He found, for instance, the letter *A* to be a most genuine character, an original and pure vowel, and justly plac'd as principal in the front of the alphabetick order. For having duly extended his under jaw, to its utmost distance from the upper ; and by a proper insertion of his fingers provided against the contraction of either corner of his mouth, he experimentally discover'd it impossible for human tongue under these circumstances to emit any other modification of sound than that which was describ'd by this primitive character. The vowel *O* was form'd by an orbicular disposition of the mouth ; as was aptly delineated in the character it-self. The vowel *U* by a parallel protrusion of the lips. The other vowels and consonants by other various collisions of the mouth, and operations of the active tongue upon the passive gum or palat. The result of this profound speculation and long exercise of our prisoner, was a *philosophical treatise*, which he compos'd when he was set at liberty. He esteem'd himself the only master of voice and language on the account of this his *radical science*, and *fundamental knowledge* of sounds. But whoever had taken him to improve their voice, or teach 'em an agreeable or just manner of accent or delivery, wou'd, I believe, have found themselves considerably deluded.

'Tis not that I wou'd condemn as useless this speculative science of *articulation*. It has its place, no doubt, among the other sciences, and may serve to *grammar*, as *grammar* serves to *rheterick*, and to other arts of speech and writing. The solidity of *mathematicks*, and its advantage to mankind, is prov'd by many effects in those beneficial arts and sciences which depend on it : tho *astrologers*, *horoscopers*, and other such, are pleas'd to honour themselves with the title of *mathematicians*. As for *metaphysicks*, and that which in the schools is taught



Part 3. for *logick* or for *ethicks*; I shall willingly allow it to pass for *philosophy*, when by any real effects it is prov'd capable to refine our spirits, improve our understandings, or mend our manners. But if the defining *material* and *immaterial substances*, and distinguishing their *propertys* and *modes*, is recommended to us, as the right manner of proceeding in the discovery of our own natures, I shall be apt to suspect such a study as the more delusive and insatuating, on account of its magnificent pretension.

THE study of triangles and circles interferes not with the study of *minds*. Nor does the student in the mean while suppose himself advancing in wisdom, or the knowledg of himself or mankind. All he desires, is to keep his head sound, as it was before. And well, he thinks indeed, he has come off, if by good fortune there be no crack made in it. As for other ability or improvement in the knowledg of human nature or the world; he refers himself to other studys and practice. Such is the *mathematician's* modesty and good sense. But for the *philosopher*, who pretends to be wholly taken up in considering his higher facultys, and examining the powers and principles of his understanding; if in reality his philosophy be foreign to the matter profess'd; if it goes beside the mark, and reaches nothing we can truly call our interest or concern; it must be somewhat worse than mere ignorance or idiotism. The most ingenious way of becoming foolish, is *by a system*. And the surest method to prevent good sense, is to set up something in the room of it. The liker any thing is to wisdom, if it be not plainly *the thing it-self*, the more directly it becomes *its opposite*.

ONE wou'd expect it of these *physiologists* and searchers of *modes* and *substances*, that being so exalted in their understandings, and enrich'd with science above other men, they shou'd be as much above 'em in their passions and sentiments. The consciousness of being admitted into the secret recesses of

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a human heart, shou'd, one wou'd think, create in Sect. 1. these gentlemen a sort of magnanimity, which might distinguish 'em from the ordinary race of mortals. But if their pretended knowledg of the machine of *this world*, and of *their own frame*, is able to produce nothing beneficial either to the one or to the other; I know not to what purpose such a philosophy can serve, except only to shut the door against better knowledg, and introduce impertinence and conceit with the best countenance of authority.

'Tis hardly possible for a student, but more especially an *author*, who has dealt in *ideas*, and treated formally of *the passions*, in a way of *natural philosophy*, not to imagine himself more wise on this account, and more knowing in his own character, and the genius of mankind. But that he is mistaken in his calculation, experience generally convinces us: none being found more impotent in themselves, of less command over their passions, less free from superstition and vain fears, or less safe from common imposture and delusion, than the noted head-pieces of this stamp. Nor is this a wonder. The speculation in a manner bespeaks the practice. There needs no formal deduction to make this evident. A small help from our familiar method of *soliloquy* may serve turn: and we may perhaps decide this matter in a more diverting way; by confronting this super-speculative philosophy with a more practical sort, which relates chiefly to our acquaintance, friendship, and good correspondence with *ourselves*.

ON this account, it may not be to my reader's disadvantage, if forgetting him for a while, I apply chiefly to *my-self*; and, as occasion offers, assume that *self-conversant practice*, which I have pretended to disclose. 'Tis hop'd therefore, he will not esteem it as ill-breeding, if I lose the usual regard to his presence. And shou'd I fall insensibly into one of the paroxysms describ'd; and as in a sort of

Part 3. phrenzy, enter into high expostulation with my-self; he will not surely be offended with the free language, or even with the reproaches he hears from a person who only makes bold with whom he may.

IF A passenger shou'd turn by chance into a watchmaker's shop, and thinking to inform himself concerning *watches*, should inquire, of what metal, or what matter, each part was compos'd; what gave the colours, or what made the sounds; without examining what the real use was of such an instrument; or by what movements its *end* was best attain'd, and its perfection acquir'd: 'tis plain that such an examiner as this, wou'd come short of any understanding in the real nature of the instrument. Shou'd a philosopher, after the same manner, employ himself in the study of human nature, discover only, what effects each passion wrought upon the body; what change of aspect or feature they produc'd; and in what different manner they affected the limbs and muscles; this might possibly qualify him to give advice to an anatomist or a limner, but not to *mankind* or to *himself*: since according to this survey he consider'd not the real operation or energy of his subject, nor contemplated the *man*, as *real MAN*, and as a human agent; but as a *watch* or common *machine*.

“THE passion of *fear* (as a \* modern Philosopher informs me) determines the spirits to the muscles of the knees, which are instantly ready to perform their motion; by taking up the legs with incomparable celerity, in order to remove the body out of harm's way.” — Excellent mechanism! But whether the knocking together of the knees be any more the cowardly symptom of flight, than the chattering of the teeth is the stout

\* Monsieur DES CARTES, in his treatise of the passions.

symptom of resistance, I shall not take upon me to Sect. 1.  
determine. In this whole subject of inquiry I shall find nothing of the least *self*-concernment. And I may depend upon it, that by the most refin'd speculation of this kind, I shall neither learn to diminish my fears, or raise my courage. This, however, I may be assur'd of, that 'tis the nature of fear, as well as of other passions, to have its increase and decrease, as it is fed by *opinion*, and influenc'd by custom and practice.

THESE passions, according as they have the ascendancy in me, and differ in proportion with one another, affect my character, and make me different with respect to *myself* and others. I must, therefore, of necessity find redress and improvement in this case, by reflecting justly on the manner of my own *motion*, as guided by *affections* which depend so much on apprehension and conceit. By examining the various turns, inflexions, declensions, and inward revolutions of *the passions*, I must undoubtedly come the better to understand a human breast, and judg the better both of others and *myself*. 'Tis impossible to make the least advancement in such a study, without acquiring some advantage, from the regulation and government of those passions, on which the conduct of a life depends.

FOR instance, if SUPERSTITION be the sort of fear which most oppresses; 'tis not very material to inquire, on this occasion, to what parts or districts the blood or spirits are immediately detach'd, or where they are to rendezvous. For this no more imports me to understand, than it depends on me to regulate or change. But when the grounds of this superstitious fear are consider'd to be from *opinion*, and the subjects of it come to be thorowly search'd and examin'd; the passion it-self must necessarily diminish, as I discover more and more the imposture which belongs to it.

In the same manner, if VANITY be from *opinion*,

Part 3. and I consider how *vanity* is conceiv'd, from what imaginary advantages, and inconsiderable grounds; if I view it in its excessive height, as well as in its contrary depression; 'tis impossible I shou'd not in some measure be reliev'd of this distemper.

\* *Laudis amore tumes? Sunt certa piacula —  
Sunt verba & voces quibus hunc lenire dolorem  
Possis, & magnam morbi deponere partem.*

THE same must happen in respect of *anger*, *ambition*, *love*, *desire*, and the other passions from whence I frame the different notion I have of *interest*. For as these passions veer, my *interest* veers, my *steeage* varies; and I make alternately, now this, now that, to be my *course* and *harbour*. The man in anger, has a different *happiness* from the man in love. And the man lately become covetous, has a different notion of *satisfaction* from what he had before, when he was liberal. Even the man in humour, has another thought of *interest* and *advantage* than the man out of humour, or in the least disturb'd. The examination, therefore, of my *humours*, and the † INQUIRY after my *passions*, must necessarily draw along with it the search and scrutiny of my *opinions*, and the sincere consideration of my *scope* and *end*. And thus the study of *human affection* cannot fail of leading me towards the knowledge of *human nature*, and of MY-SELF.

THIS is the *philosophy*, which, by nature, has the pre-eminence above all other science, or knowledge. Nor can this surely be of the sort call'd ‡ *vain* or *deceitful*: since it is the only means by which I can discover vanity and deceit. This is not of that kind which depends on † *genealogys* or *traditions*, and ‡ *ministers questions* and *vain janglings*.

\* Hor. *Epist.* i. lib. i.

† See INQUIRY, viz. Treatise IV. of these volumes.

‡ Col. ch. ii. ver. 8. Tit. ch. iii. ver. 9. 1 Tim. ch. i. ver. 4, & 6. and ch. vi. ver. 20.



It has not its name, as other philosophys, from the Sect. 1. mere subtlety and nicety of the speculation; but, by way of excellence, from its being superior to all other speculations; from its presiding over all other sciences and occupations; teaching the measure of each, and assigning the just value of every thing in life. By this science *religion* it-self is judg'd, *spirits* are search'd, *prophecys* prov'd, *miracles* distinguish'd: the sole measure and standard being taken from *moral rectitude*, and from the discernment of what is sound and just in the affections. For if the \* *tree* is known only by its *fruits*; my first endeavour must be to distinguish the true taste of *fruits*, refine my palat, and establish a just relish in the kind. So that to bid me judg authority by morals, whilst the rule of morals is suppos'd † dependent on mere authority and *will*; is the same in reality as to bid me see with my eyes shut, measure without a standard, and count without arithmetick.

AND thus PHILOSOPHY, which judges both of her-self, and of every thing besides; discovers her own province, and chief command; teaches me to distinguish between her person and her likeness; and shews me her immediate and real self, by that sole privilege of teaching me *to know my-self*, and *what belongs to me*. She gives to every inferior science its just rank; leave some to measure *sounds*; others to scan *syllables*; other to weigh *vacuums*, and define *spaces*, and *extensions*; but reserves to her-self her due authority, and majesty; keeps her state, and ancient title, of *Vite dux*, *virtutis indagatrix*, and the rest of those just appellations which of old belonged to her; when she merited to be apostrophiz'd, as she was, by the ‡ Orator: “*Tu inven-*

\* Luke ch. vi. ver. 43, 44. and Mat. ch. vii. ver. 16.

See VOL. II. p. 175, 217.

† *Supra*, pag. 73.

‡ Cicero: *Tusc. Quæst.* lib. 5.

Part 3. "*trix legum, tu magistra morum & discipline.*  
 " \* \* \* *Est autem unus dies bene & ex præceptis*  
 " *tuis actus, peccanti immortalitati anteponeendus.*"  
 Excellent mistress ! but easy to be mistaken ! whilst  
 so many handmaids wear as illustrious apparel ; and  
 some are made to outshine her far, in dress, and or-  
 nament.

IN reality ; how specious a study, how solemn an  
 amusement is rais'd from what we call *philosophical*  
*speculations* ! — the *formation of ideas* ! — *composi-*  
*tions, comparisons, agreement and disagreement* ! —  
 What can have a better appearance, or bid fairer  
 for *genuine and true PHILOSOPHY* ? Come  
 on then. Let me philosophize in this manner ; if  
 this be indeed the way I am to grow *wise*. Let me  
 examine my *ideas of space and substance* : let me  
 look well into *matter* and its *modes* ; if this be look-  
 ing into MY-SELF ; if this be to improve my *un-*  
*derstanding*, and enlarge my MIND. For of this I  
 may soon be satisfy'd. Let me observe therefore,  
 with diligence, what passes *here* ; what connexion  
 and consistency, what agreement or disagreement I  
 find *within* : " Whether, according to my present  
 " *ideas*, that which I approve this hour, I am like  
 " to approve as well the next : and in case it be o-  
 " therwise with me ; how or after what manner, I  
 " shall relieve my-self ; how *ascertain* my *ideas*,  
 " and keep my opinion, liking, and esteem of things,  
 " *the same*." If this remains unsolv'd ; if I am still  
 the same mystery to my-self as ever : to what pur-  
 pose is all this reasoning and acuteness ? Wherefore  
 do I admire my philosopher, or study to become  
 such a one, my-self ?

TO-DAY things have succeeded well with me :  
 consequently my ideas are rais'd : " 'Tis a fine  
 " world ! All is glorious ! Every thing delight-  
 " ful and entertaining ! Mankind, conversation,  
 " company, society ; what can be more desirable !"  
*To-morrow* comes disappointments, crosses, disgrace.

And what follows? “O miserable mankind! Sect. I.  
 “wretched state! Who wou’d live out of soli-  
 “tude? who wou’d write or act for such a world?”  
 Philosopher! where are thy *ideas*? where is *truth*,  
*certainty, evidence*, so much talk’d of? ’Tis here sure-  
 ly they are to be maintain’d, if any were. ’Tis here  
 I am to preserve some *just distinctions*, and *ade-*  
*quate ideas*; which if I cannot do a jot the more,  
 by what such a philosophy can teach me, the philo-  
 sophy is in this respect imposing, and delusive. For  
 whatever its other virtues are; it relates not to *me*  
*my-self*, it concerns not *the man*, nor any otherwise  
 affects *the mind* than by the conceit of knowledg, and  
 the false assurance rais’d from a suppos’d improve-  
 ment.

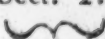
AGAIN. What are my *ideas of the world*,  
 of *pleasure, riches, fame, life*? What judgment  
 am I to make of mankind and human affairs? What  
 sentiments am I to frame? What opinions? What  
 maxims? If none at all; why do I concern my-  
 self in speculations about my *ideas*? What is it to  
 me, for instance, to know what kind of idea I can  
 form of *space*? “Divide a solid body of whatever  
 “dimension (says a renown’d modern Philosopher:)  
 “and ’twill be impossible for the parts to move  
 “within the bounds of its superficies; if there be  
 “not left in it \* a void space, as big as the least  
 “part into which the said body is divided.” —

THUS the *Atomist*, or *Epicurean*, pleading for  
 a *vacuum*. The *Plenitudinarian*, on the other side,  
 brings his *fluid* in play, and joins the idea of *body*  
 and *extension*. “Of this, says one, I have clear  
 “ideas. Of this, says the other, I can be certain.  
 “And what, say I, if in the whole matter there be  
 “no certainty at all?” For *mathematicians* are  
 divided: and *mechanicks* proceed as well on one hy-  
 pothesis as on the other. My *mind*, I am satisfy’d, will

\* These are the words of the particular author cited.

Part 3. proceed either way alike : for it is concern'd on neither side. — “ Philosopher ! Let me hear concerning what is of some moment to me. Let me hear concerning *life* ; what the right notion is ; and what I am to stand to, upon occasion : that I may not, when life seems retiring, or has run it-self out to the very dregs, cry *Vanity!* condemn the world, and at the same time complain, that *life is short and passing!*” For why so *short* indeed ; if not found *sweet* ? Why do I complain both ways ? Is vanity, *mere vanity*, a happiness ? Or can misery *pass away* too soon ?

THIS is of moment to me to examine. This is worth my while. If, on the other side, I cannot find the agreement or disagreement of my ideas in this place ; if I can come to nothing *certain* here ; what is all the rest to me ? What signifies it how I come by my ideas, or how *compound* 'em ; which are *simple*, and which *complex* ? If I have a right idea of *life*, now when perhaps I think slightly of it, and resolve with my-self, “ That it may easily be laid down on any honourable occasion of service to my friends, or country ;” teach me how I may preserve this *idea* : or, at least, how I may get safely rid of it ; that it may trouble me no more, nor lead me into ill adventures. Teach me how I came by such an *opinion* of worth and virtue ; what it is, which at one time raises it so high, and at another time reduces it to nothing ; how these disturbances and fluctuations happen ; “ By what innovation, what composition, what intervention of other ideas.” If this be the subject of the *philosophical arts* ; I readily apply to it, and embrace the study. If there be nothing of this in the case ; I have no occasion for this sort of learning ; and am no more desirous of knowing how I form or compound those *ideas* which are mark'd by words, than I am of knowing how, and by what motions of my tongue or palat, I form those *articulate sounds*,

which I can full as well pronounce, without any such Sect. 2.  
science or speculation. 

## S E C T. II.

**B**UT here it may be convenient for me to quit my-self a while, in favour of my reader ; lest if he prove one of the *uncourteous* sort, he shou'd raise a considerable objection in this place. He may ask perhaps, “ Why a writer for *self-entertainment* shou'd not keep his writings to himself, without “ appearing *in publick*, or before *the world*.”

In answer to this I shall only say, that for appearing *in publick*, or before *the world*, I do not readily conceive what our worthy objector may understand by it. I can call to mind, indeed, among my acquaintance, certain merchant adventurers in the letter-trade, who in correspondence with their factor-bookfeller, are enter'd into a notable commerce with *the world*. They have directly, and in due form of *preface*, and *epistle dedicatory*, solicited the *publick*, and made interest with friends for favour and protection on this account. They have ventur'd, perhaps, to join some great man's reputation with their own ; having obtain'd his permission to address a work to him, on presumption of its passing for something considerable in the eyes of *mankind*. One may easily imagine that such patroniz'd and avow'd *authors* as these, wou'd be shrewdly disappointed if *the publick* took no notice of their labours. But for my own part, 'tis of no concern to me, what regard *the publick* bestows on my amusements ; or after what manner it comes acquainted with what I write for my private entertainment, or by way of *advice* to such of my acquaintance as are thus desperately embark'd.

'Tis requisite, that my friends, who peruse these *advices*, shou'd read 'em in better characters than



Part 3. those of my own hand-writing. And by good luck I have a very fair hand offer'd, which may save me the trouble of re-copying, and can readily furnish me with as many handsome copys as I cou'd desire, for my own and friends service. I have not, indeed, forbid my *amanuensis* the making as many as he pleases for his own benefit. What I write is not worth being made a mystery. And if it be worth any one's purchasing; much good may do the purchaser. 'Tis a *traffick* I have no share in; tho I accidentally furnish the subject-matter.

AND thus am I no-wise more an AUTHOR for being in *print*. I am conscious of no additional virtue, or dangerous quality, from having lain at any time under the weight of that alphabetick engine call'd *the press*. I know no conjuration in it, either with respect to church or state. Nor can I imagine why the machine shou'd appear so formidable to scholars, and renown'd clerks; whose very mystery and foundation depends on the letter-manufacture. To allow *benefit of clergy*, and to *restrain the press*, seems to me to have something of cross-purpose in it. I can hardly think that *the quality* of what is written can be alter'd by *the manner* of writing: or that there can be any harm in a quick way of copying fair, and keeping copys alike. Why a man may not be permitted to write with *iron* as well as *quill*, I can't conceive; or how a writer changes his capacity, by this new dress, any more than by the wear of *wove-stockings*, after having worn no other manufacture than *the knit*.

SO MUCH for my *reader*; if perchance I have any besides the friend or two above-mention'd. For being engag'd in *morals*, and induc'd to treat so rigorous a subject as that of *self-examination*; I naturally call to mind the extreme delicacy and tenderness of modern appetites, in respect of the *philosophy* of this kind. What distaste possibly may have

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arisen from some medicinal doses of a like nature, ad- Sect. 2.  
minister'd to raw stomachs, at a very early age, I will not pretend to examine. But whatever manner in philosophy happens to bear the least resemblance to that of *catechism*, cannot, I'm persuaded, of itself, prove very inviting. Such a smart way of questioning our selves in our youth, has made our manhood more averse to expostulatory discipline. And tho the *metaphysical* points of our belief are by this method, with admirable care and caution, instill'd into tender minds; yet the manner of thus anticipating philosophy, may make the after-work of reason, and the inward exercise of the mind, at a riper age, proceed the more heavily, and with greater reluctance.

IT must needs be a hard case with us, after having pass'd so learned a childhood, and been instructed in our own and other higher *natures, essences, incorporeal substances, personalities*, and the like; to condescend at riper years to ruminate and con over this lesson a second time. 'Tis hard, after having, by so many pertinent interrogatorys, and decisive sentences, declar'd *who* and *what* we are; to come leisurely, in another view, to inquire concerning our real SELF, and END, the *judgment* we are to make of INTEREST, and the *opinion* we shou'd have of ADVANTAGE and GOOD: which is what must necessarily determine us in our conduct, and prove the leading principle of our lives.

CAN we bear looking a-new into these mysterys? Can we endure a new *schooling*, after having once learnt our lesson from *the world*?

Hardly, I presume. For by the lesson of this latter *school*, and according to the sense I acquire in converse with *prime men*; shou'd I at any time ask my-self, *What govern'd me?* I shou'd answer readily, *My interest.*

"But what is *interest*? And how govern'd?"

By opinion and fancy.

Is

"every thing therefore my interest which I fancy

Part 3. “such? Or may my fancy possibly be wrong?  
 “It may. If my fancy of interest therefore be  
 “wrong; can my pursuit or aim be right?  
 “Hardly so. Can I then be suppos’d to *hit*,  
 “when I know not; in reality, so much as how to  
 “aim?”

My chief interest, it seems therefore, must be to get an aim; and know certainly where my happiness and advantage lies.

“Where else can it lie,  
 “than in *my pleasure*; since my advantage and  
 “good must ever be *pleasing*: and what is *pleas-*  
 “*ing*, can never be other than my advantage and  
 “good? Excellent! Let *fancy* therefore go-  
 “vern, and *interest* be what *we please*. For if  
 “that which *pleases us* be our good, \* *because it*  
 “*pleases us*; any-thing may be our INTEREST or  
 “GOOD. Nothing can come amiss. That which  
 “we fondly make our *happiness* at one time, we  
 “may as readily un-make at another. No-one can  
 “learn what *real GOOD* is. Nor can any-one up-  
 “on this foot be said to *understand his* INTER-  
 “REST.”

HERE, we see, are strange embroils! — But let us try to deal more candidly with our-selves, and frankly own that † *pleasure* is no rule of GOOD; since when we follow *pleasure* merely, we are disgusted, and change from one sort to another: condemning that at one time, which at another we earnestly approve; and never judging equally of *happiness*, whilst we follow *passion* and mere *humour*.

A LOVER, for instance, when struck with the *idea* or *fancy* of his enjoyment, promises himself the highest felicity, if he succeeds in his *new amour*. — He succeeds in it; finds not the felicity he expected: but promises himself the same again in *some other*. — The same thing happens: he is disap-

\* VOL. II. p. 148. and VOL. III. p. 137.

† *Idem* 4, p. 229.

pointed as before; but still has *faith*. — Weary'd Sect. 2. with this game, he quits the chace; renounces the way of courtship and *intrigue*, and detests the ceremony and difficulty of the pleasure. — A new species of amours invites him. Here too he meets the same inquietude and inconstancy. — Scorning to grow *fottish*, and plunge in the lowest sink of vice, he shakes off his intemperance; despises *gluttony* and *riot*; and hearkens to *ambition*. He grows a man of business, and seeks authority and fame. —

\* *Quo teneam vultus mutantem PROTEA nodo?*

LEST this therefore shou'd be my own case; let me see whether I can controul my *fancy*, and fix it, if possible, on something which may hold *good*. — When I exercise my reason in *moral* subjects; when I employ my affection in *friendly* and *social* actions, I find I can sincerely *enjoy my-self*. If there be a pleasure therefore of this kind; why not indulge it? Or what harm would there be, supposing it shou'd grow greater by indulgence? If I am *lazy*, and indulge my-self in the languid pleasure; I know the harm, and can foresee *the drone*. If I am *luxurious*, I know the harm of this also, and have the plain prospect of *the sot*. If avarice be my pleasure; the end, I know, is being a *miser*. But if HONESTY be my delight, I know no other consequence from indulging such a passion, than that of growing *better-natur'd*, and *enjoying more and more the pleasures of society*. On the other hand, if this honest pleasure be lost, by knavish indulgence, and immorality, there can hardly be a satisfaction left of any kind; since good-nature and † social affection are so essential even to the pleasures of a *debauch*.

If therefore the only pleasure I can freely and

\* Hor. *Epist.* 1. lib. 1.

† Vol. II. p. 83.

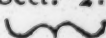
Part 3. without reserve indulge, be that of the *honest* and *moral* kind ; if the rational and social enjoyment be so constant in it-self, and so essential to happiness ; why shou'd I not bring my other pleasures to correspond and be friends with it, rather than raise myself other pleasures, which are destructive of this foundation, and have no manner of correspondency with one another ?

UPON this bottom let me try how I can bear the assault of FANCY, and maintain my-self in my moral fortress, against the attacks which are rais'd on the side of corrupt *interest* and a wrong *self*. When the idea of pleasure strikes, I ask my-self : “ Before I was thus struck by the idea, was any thing amiss with me ? No. Therefore remove the idea, and I am well. But having this idea such as I now have, I cannot want the thing, without regret. See, therefore, which is best : either to suffer under this want, till the idea be remov'd ; or by satisfying the want, confirm not only this idea, but all of the same stamp ? ”

IN reality, has not *every* FANCY a like privilege of passing ; if *any single one* be admitted upon its own authority ? And what must be the issue of such an œconomy, if the whole fantastick *crew* be introduc'd, and the door refus'd to none ? What else is it than this management which leads to the most dissolute and profligate of characters ? What is it, on the contrary, which raises us to any degree of worth or steadiness, besides a direct contrary practice and conduct ? Can there be *strength of mind* ; can there be *command over one's self* ; if the ideas of pleasure, the suggestions of *fancy*, and the strong pleadings of appetite and desire are not often withstood, and the *imaginations* soundly reprimanded, and brought under subjection ?

THUS it appears that the method of examining our *ideas* is no pedantick practice. Nor is there any thing un-galante in the manner of thus questioning



the *lady-fancys*, which present themselves as charmingly dress'd as possible to solicit their cause, and obtain a judgment, by favour of that worse *part*, and corrupt SELF, to whom they make their application. Sect. 2. 

It may be justly said of these, that they are very powerful *solicitresses*. They never seem to importune us; tho they are ever in our eye, and meet us whichever way we turn. They understand better how to manage their appearance, than by always throwing up their veil, and shewing their faces openly in a broad light, to run the danger of cloying our sight, or exposing their features to a strict examination. So far are they from such forwardness, that they often stand as at a distance; suffering us to make the first advance, and contenting themselves with discovering a side-face, or bestowing now and then a glance in a mysterious manner, as if they endeavour'd to conceal their persons.

ONE of the most dangerous of these *enchantresses* appears in a sort of dismal weed, with the most mournful countenance imaginable; often calling up her eyes, and wringing her hand; so that 'tis impossible not to be mov'd by her, till her meaning be consider'd, and her imposture fully known. The airs she borrows, are from the tragick muse MELPOMENE. Nor is she in her own person any way amiable or attractive. Far from it. Her art is to render her-self as forbidding as possible; that her sisters may by her means be the more alluring. And if by her tragick aspect, and melancholy looks, she can persuade us that *death* (whom she represents) is such a hideous form; she conquers in behalf of the whole fantastick tribe of wanton, gay, and fond desires. Effeminacy and cowardice instantly prevail. The poorest *means* of life grow in repute, when the *ends* and *just conditions* of it are so little known, and the dread of parting with it rais'd to so high a degree. The more eagerly we grasp at *life*,

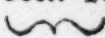
Part 3. the more impotent we are in the enjoyment of it. By this avidity, its very lees and dregs are swallow'd. The ideas of sordid pleasure are advanc'd. Worth, manhood, generosity, and all the nobler opinions and sentiments of *honest GOOD*, and *virtuous pleasure*, disappear, and fly before this *Queen of terrors*.

'Tis a mighty delight which a sort of counter-philosophers take in seconding this *phantom*, and playing her upon our understandings, whenever they wou'd take occasion to confound 'em. The vicious poets employ this *spectre* too on their side; tho' after a different manner. By the help of this tragick actrice, they gain a fairer audience for the luxurious fancies, and give their ERATO's and other playsome *Muses* a fuller scope in the support of riot and debauch. The gloomy prospect of death becomes the incentive to pleasures of the lowest order. *Ashes* and *shade*, the *tomb* and *cypress*, are made to serve as foils to *luxury*. The abhorrence of an insensible state makes mere vitality and animal-sensation highly cherish'd.

\* *Indulge genio: carpeamus dulcia, nostrum est  
Quod vivis: Cinis, & Manes, & Fabula fies.*

'Tis no wonder if *luxury* profits by the deformity of the specter-opinion. She supports her interest by this childish bug-bear; and, like a mother by her infant, is hugg'd so much the closer by her votary, as the fear presses him, and grows importunate. She invites him to *live fast*, according to her best measure of *life*. And well she may. Who wou'd not willingly make *life* pass away as quickly as was possible; when the nobler pleasures of it were already lost or corrupted by a wretched *fear of death*? The intense selfishness and meanness which accompanies this fear, must reduce us to a low ebb of enjoyment, and in a manner bring to nothing that main

\* Pers. Sat. 5.

sum of satisfactory sensations, by which we vulgarly rate the happiness of our private condition and fortune.  Sect. 2.

BUT see ! A lovely form advances to our assistance, introduc'd by the prime *Muse*, the beauteous CALLIOPE ! She shews us what real *beauty* is, and what those *numbers* are, which make life perfect, and bestow the *chief enjoyment*. She sets *virtue* before our eyes, and teaches us how to rate *life*, from the experience of the most heroick spirits. She brings her sisters CLIO and URANIA to support her. From the *former* she borrows whatever is memorable in history, and antient time, to confront the tragick specter, and shew the fix'd contempt which the happiest and freest nations, as well as single heroes, and private men worthy of any note, have ever express'd for that impostress. From the *latter* she borrows what is sublimest in philosophy, to explain the laws of nature, the order of the universe, and represent to us the justice of accompanying this amiable administration. She shews us, that by this just compliance we are made happiest: and that the measure of a happy life is not from the fewer or more sums we behold, the fewer or more breaths we draw, or meals we repeat ; but from the having *once liv'd well*, acted our *part* handsomly, and made our *exit* chearfully, and as became us.

THUS we retain on virtue's side the noblest party of the *Muses*. Whatever is august among those sisters, appears readily in our behalf. Nor are the more jocund ladys wanting in their assistance, when they act in the perfection of their art, and inspire some better genius's in this kind of poetry. Such were the nobler *lyricks*, and those of the *latter*, and more *refin'd comedy* of the antients. The THALIA's, the POLYHYMNIA's, the TERPSYCHORE's, the EUTERPE's willingly join their parts ; and being alike interested in the cause of *numbers*, are with regret employ'd another way, in favour of *disorder*.

**Part 3.** Instead of being made *Syrens* to serve the purposes of vice, they wou'd with more delight accompany their elder sisters, and add their graces and attractive charms to what is most harmonious, muse-like, and divine in human life. There is this difference only between these and the more heroick dames; that they can more easily be perverted, and take the vicious form. For what person of any genius or masterly command in the poetick art, cou'd think of bringing the *epick* or *tragick* Muse to act the pandar, or be subservient to effeminacy and cowardice? 'Tis not against death, hazards, or toils, that *tragedy* and the heroick fable are pointed. 'Tis not *mere life* which is here exalted, or has its price enhanc'd. On the contrary, its calamitys are expos'd: the disorders of the passions set to view: fortitude recommended: honour advanc'd: the contempt of death plac'd as the peculiar note of every generous and happy soul; and the tenacious love of life, as the truest character of an abject wretch.

\* *Usque adeone mori miserum est?* —

'Tis not to be imagin'd how easily we deal with the deluding *apparitions* and false ideas of happiness and good; when this frightful *specter* of misery and ill, is after this manner well laid, and by honest magick conjur'd down; so as not to give the least assistance to the other tempting *forms*. This is that *occult* science, or sort of counter-*necromancy*, which instead of ghastliness and horror, inspires only what is gentle and humane, and dispels the imposing phantoms of every kind. He may pass undoubtedly, for no mean *conjuror*, who can deal with spirits of this sort. — But hold! — Let us try the experiment in due form, and draw the magick circle. Let us observe how the inferiour *imps* appear; when the *head-goblin* is securely laid —

\* Virg. *Æneid.* lib. 12.

SEE ! The *enchantress* INDOLENCE presents her- Sect. 2.  
 self, in all the pomp of ease and lazy luxury. She  
 promises the sweetest life, and invites us to her pil-  
 low : enjoins us to expose our-selves to no adventu-  
 rous attempt ; and forbids us any engagement which  
 may bring us into action. “ Where, then, are the  
 “ pleasures which *Ambition* promises, and *Love* af-  
 “ fords ? How is the gay world enjoy’d ? Or are  
 “ those to be esteem’d *no pleasures*, which are lost  
 “ by dulness and inaction ? But *indolence* is  
 “ the highest pleasure. To live, and not to  
 “ feel ! To feel no trouble. What  
 “ good then ? *Life* it-self. And is this  
 “ properly to live ? Is sleeping, *life* ? Is this  
 “ what I shou’d study to prolong ? —” Here  
 the *santaftick* tribe it-self seems scandaliz’d. A ci-  
 vil war begins. The major part of the capricious  
 dames range themselves on *Reason*’s side, and de-  
 clare against the languid SYREN. *Ambition* blushes  
 at the offer’d sweet. *Conceit* and *Vanity* take su-  
 perior airs. Even *Luxury* her-self, in her polite and  
 elegant humour, reproves the apostate-sister, and  
 marks her as an alien to true pleasure — “ Away,  
 “ thou drousy *Phantom* ! Haunt me no more. For  
 “ I have learn’d from better than thy sisterhood,  
 “ that life and happiness consist in *action* and *em-*  
 “ *ployment*.”

BUT here a busy form sollicit us ; active, indu-  
 strious, watchful, and despising pains and labour.  
 She wears the serious countenance of virtue, but  
 with features of anxiety and disquiet. What is it  
 she mutters ? What looks she on, with such admi-  
 ration and astonishment ? — Bags ! coffers ! heaps  
 of shining metal ! “ What ! for the service  
 “ of *Luxury* ? For *her* these preparations ? Art  
 “ thou then *her* friend (grave *Fancy* ! ) is it for *her*  
 “ thou toil’st ? No, but for provision against  
 “ want. But, *Luxury* apart ! tell me now,  
 “ hast thou not already a competence ? ’Tis



Part 3. “ good to be secure against the fear of starving.  
 “ Is there then no death beside *this*? No other  
 “ passage out of life? Are other doors secur’d, if  
 “ this be barr’d? Say, AVARICE! (thou emptiest  
 “ of phantoms) is it not vile *cowardice* thou serv’st?  
 “ What further have I then to do with thee (thou  
 “ doubly vile dependent!) when once I have dis-  
 “ miss’d thy patroness, and despis’d her threats?”

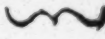
THUS I contend with FANCY and \* OPINION;  
 and search the mint and foundery of *Imagination*.  
 For here the appetites and desires are fabricated.  
 Hence they derive their privilege and currency. If  
 I can stop the mischief here, and prevent false coin-  
 age; I am safe.

“ *Idea!* wait a while till I  
 “ have examin’d thee, whence thou art, and to  
 “ whom thou retain’st. Art thou of *Ambition’s*  
 “ train? Or dost thou promise only *pleasure*? Say!  
 “ what am I to sacrifice for thy sake? What ho-  
 “ nour? What truth? What manhood! —  
 “ What bribe is it thou bring’st along with thee?  
 “ Describe the flattering object; but without flatte-  
 “ ry; plain, as the thing is; without addition, without  
 “ sparing or reserve. Is it *wealth*? is it a *report*?  
 “ a *title*? or a *female*? Come not in a troop, (ye  
 “ Fancys!) Bring not your objects crouding, to  
 “ confound the sight. But let me examine your  
 “ *worth* and *weight* distinctly. Think not to raise  
 “ accumulative happiness. For if separately, you  
 “ contribute nothing; in conjunction, you can only  
 “ amuse.”

WHILST I am thus penning a *Soliloquy* in form,  
 I can’t forbear reflecting on my work. And when  
 I view the manner of it with a familiar eye; I am  
 readier, I find, to make my-self diversion on this  
 occasion, than to suppose I am in good earnest about  
 a work of consequence.

“ What! am I to

\* VOL. III. p. 135, 136, &c.

" be thus fantastical? Must I busy my-self with Sect. 2.  
 " phantoms? fight with apparitions and chimera's? 

" For certain: or the chimera's will be before-hand with me, and busy themselves so as to get the better of my understanding. What!

" Talk to my-self like some *madman*, in different persons, and under different characters!

" Undoubtedly: or 'twill be soon seen who is a *real madman*, and changes *character* in earnest, without knowing how to help it."

THIS indeed is but too certain; That as long as we enjoy a MIND; as long as we have *appetites* and *sense*, the *fancys* of all kinds will be hard at work; and whether we are in company, or alone, they must range still, and be active. They must have their field. The question is, whether they shall have it wholly to themselves; or whether they shall acknowledg some *controuler* or *manager*. If none; 'tis this, I fear, which leads to *madness*. 'Tis this, and nothing else, which can be call'd *madness* or *loss of reason*. For if FANCY be left judg of any thing, she must be judg of all. Every-thing is right, if any-thing be so, because *I fancy it*. " The

" house turns round. The prospect turns. No, but my head turns indeed: I have a giddiness; that's all. *Fancy* wou'd persuade me thus and thus: but I know better."

'Tis by means therefore of a *controuler* and *corrector* of fancy, that I am sav'd from being mad. Otherwise, 'tis *the house turns*, when I am giddy. 'Tis *things* which change (for so I must suppose) when my *passion* merely, or *temper* changes.

" But I was out of order. I dreamt. Who tells me this?

" Who besides the CORRECTRICE, by whose means I am in my wits, and without whom I am no longer *my-self*?

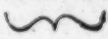
EVERY man indeed who is not absolutely beside himself, must of necessity hold his *fancys* under some kind of discipline and management. The *stricter*

Part 3. this discipline is, the more the man is rational, and in his wits. The *looser* it is, the more fantastical he must be, and the nearer to the madman's state. This is a business which can never stand still. I must always be *winner* or *loser* at the game. Either I work upon my *fancys*, or they on *me*. If I give quarter, *they* won't. There can be no truce, no suspension of arms between us. The *one* or the *other* must be superiour, and have the command. For if the *fancys* are left to themselves, the government must of course be theirs. And then, what difference between such a state and madness?

THE question therefore is the same here, as in a family, or household, when 'tis ask'd, "*Who rules?*" "*or who is master?*" Learn by the voices. Observe who speaks aloud, in a commanding tone; who talks, who questions; or who is talk'd with, and who question'd. For if the servants take the former part; they are the masters, and the government of the house will be found such as naturally may be expected in these circumstances.

How stands it therefore, in my own oeconomy, my principal province and command? How stand my *fancys*? How deal they with me? Or do I take upon me rather to deal with *them*? Do I talk, question, arraign? Or am I talk'd with, arraign'd, and contented to hear, without giving a reply? If I vote with FANCY, resign my *opinion* to her command, and judg of happiness and misery as *she* judges; how am I *myself*?

HE who in a plain imagines *precipices* at his feet, impending *rocks* over his head; fears bursting clouds in a clear sky; cries *Fire! deluge! earthquake, or thunder!* when all is quiet: does he not rave? But one whose eyes seemingly strike fire, by a blow; one whose head is giddy from the motion of a ship, after having been newly set ashore; or one who from a di-

temper in his ear hears thundering noises ; can read Sect. 2.  
dily *redress* these several apprehensions, and is by   
this means sav'd from madness.

A DISTEMPER in my eye may make me see the  
strangest kind of figures : and when cataracts and o-  
ther impurities are gathering in that organ ; flies, in-  
sects, and other various forms, seem playing in the  
air before me. But let my senses err ever so widely ;  
I am not on this account *beside my-self* : nor am I  
out of my own possession, whilst there is a person left  
within ; who has power to *dispute* the appearances,  
and *redress* the imagination.

I AM accosted by *ideas* and striking *apprehensions* :  
but I take nothing on their report. I hear their sto-  
ry, and return 'em answer, as they deserve. FANCY  
and I are not *all one*. The disagreement makes me  
*my own*. When, on the contrary, I have no de-  
bate with her, no controversy, but take for *happiness*  
and *misery*, for *good* and *ill*, whatever she presents  
as such ; I must then join voices with her, and cry  
*Precipice ! Fire ! CERBERUS ! Elyzium ! —*

“ *Sandy desarts : flowery fields !*

“ *Seas of milk, and ships of amber !*”

A GRECIAN Prince who had the same madness  
as ALEXANDER, and was deeply struck with the  
*fancy* of conquering worlds, was ingeniously shewn  
the method of expostulating with his *Lady-govern-  
ness* ; when by a discreet friend, and at an easy  
hour, he was ask'd little by little concerning his de-  
sign, and the *final purpose*, and promis'd *good* which  
the flattering dame propos'd to him. The story is  
sufficiently noted. All the artifice employ'd against  
the Prince was a well-manag'd interrogatory of *what  
next ?* Lady-FANCY was not aware of the design  
upon her ; but let her-self be worm'd out, by de-  
grees. At first, she said the Prince's design was on-  
ly upon a tract of land, which stood out like a pro-

Part 3. montory before him, and seem'd to eclipse his glory. A fair rich island, which was close by, presented itself next, and as it were naturally invited conquest. The opposite coast came next in view. Then the continent on each side the larger sea. And then (what was easiest of all, and wou'd follow of course) the dominion both of sea and land. "And  
 " *What next?* replied the friend. What shall we  
 " do, when we are become thus happy, and have  
 " obtain'd our highest wish? Why then, we'll  
 " sit down peaceably, and be good company over a  
 " bottle. Alas, Sir! What hinders us from doing  
 " the same, where we now are? Will our humour,  
 " or our wine grow better? Shall we be  
 " more secure, or at heart's ease? What you may  
 " possibly lose by these attempts, is easy to conceive.  
 " But which way you will be a gainer, your own  
 " fancy (you see) cannot so much as suggest." FANCY in the mean while carry'd her point: for she was absolute over the monarch; and had been too little talk'd to by *her-self*, to bear being reprov'd in company. The Prince grew sullen; turn'd the discourse; abhor'd the profanation offer'd to his sovereign-empress; deliver'd up his thoughts to her again with deep devotion, and fell to conquering with all his might. The sound of *victory* rung in his ears. *Laurels* and *crowns* play'd before his eyes. — What was this beside *giddiness* and *dream*? *Appearances* uncorrected? " Worlds dancing?  
 " phantoms playing?

" *Seas of milk! and ships of amber!*"

'Tis easy to bring the *Hero's* case home to ourselves; and see, in the ordinary circumstances of life, how *Love*, *Ambition*, and the gayer tribe of *Fancys* (as well as the gloomy and dark *Specters* of another sort) prevail over our mind. 'Tis easy to observe how they work on us, when we refuse to be before-hand with 'em, and bestow repeated lessons



on the encroaching *forcereffes*. On this it is, that Sect. 2. our offer'd ADVICE, and method of SOLILOQUY depends. And whether this be of any use towards making us either wiser, or happier; I am confident, it must help to make us *wittier* and *politer*. It must, beyond any other science, teach us the turns of *humour* and *passion*, the variety of *manners*, the justness of *characters*, and TRUTH of things; which when we rightly understand, we may naturally describe. And on this depends chiefly the skill and art of a *good writer*. So that, if to *write well* be a just pretence to merit; 'tis plain, that *writers*, who are apt to set no small value on their art, must confess there is something valuable in this *self-examining* practice, and method of *inward colloquy*.

As for the *writer of these papers* (as modern authors are pleas'd modestly to stile themselves) he is contented, for his part, to take up with this practice, barely for his own proper benefit; without regard to the high function or capacity of *author*. It may be allow'd him, in this particular, to imitate the best genius and most gentleman-like of *Roman* poets. And tho' by an excess of dulness, it shou'd be his misfortune to learn nothing of this Poet's *wit*, he is persuas'd he may learn something of his *honesty* and *good humour*.

\* — Neque enim, cum lectulus, aut ME  
Porticus excepit, desum MIHI: "Rectius hoc est:  
"Hec faciens, vivam melius: sic dulcis amicis  
"Occurram." — Hec EGO MECUM  
Compressis agito labris. — †

\* Hor. Sat. 4. lib. 1.

† And again:

Quocirca MECUM loquor haec, tacitusque recordor,  
Si tibi nulla sitim fineret copia lymphae,  
Narrares medicis: quod quanto plura parasti,  
Tanto plura cupis, nulline faterier audes?

\* \* \* \* \*

## S E C T. III.

Part 3.

WE are now arriv'd to that part of our performance, where it becomes us to cast our eye back, on what has already pass'd. The observers of method generally make this the place of *recapitulation*. Other artists have substituted the practice of *APOLOGY*, or *extenuation*. For the anticipating manner of *prefatory* discourse, is too well known, to work any surprizing effect in the author's behalf: *PREFACE* being become only another word to signify *excuse*. Besides that the author is generally the most straiten'd in that preliminary part, which on other accounts is too apt to grow voluminous. He therefore takes the advantage of his *corollary* or *winding up*; and ends pathetically, by endeavouring, in the softest manner, to reconcile his reader to those faults which he chuses rather to excuse than to amend.

GENERAL practice has made this a necessary part of elegance, hardly to be pass'd over by any writer. 'Tis the chief stratagem by which he engages in personal conference with his reader; and can talk immoderately of *himself*, with all the seeming modesty of one who is the furthest from any selfish views, or conceited thoughts of his own merit. There appears such a peculiar grace and ingenuity in the method of confessing *laziness*, *precipitancy*, *carelessness*, or whatever other vices have been the occasion of the author's deficiency; that it wou'd seem a pity, had the work it self been brought to such perfection as to have left no room for the penitent party to enlarge on his own *demerits*. For from the multi-

*Non es avarus: abi. quid? caetera jam simul isto  
Cum vitio fugere? caret tibi pectus inani  
Ambitione? Caret mortis formidine & ira?*

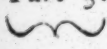
Id. Epist. 2. lib. 2.

plicity of these, he finds subjects to ingratiate himself with *his reader*; who doubtless is not a little rais'd by this submission of a *confessing author*; and is ready, on these terms, to give him *absolution*, and receive him into his good grace and favour. Sect. 3.

IN the gallant world, indeed, we easily find how far a *humility* of this kind prevails. They who hope to rise by MERIT, are likeliest to be disappointed in their pretensions. The confessing lover, who ascribes all to the bounty of the fair-one, meets his reward the sooner, for having study'd *less* how to deserve it. For MERIT is generally thought presumptuous, and suppos'd to carry with it a certain assurance and ease, with which a *mistress* is not so well contented. The claim of well-deserving seems to derogate from the pure grace and favour of the *benefactrice*; who then appears to her-self most sovereign in power, and likeliest to be obey'd without reserve, when she bestows her bounty, where there is least title, or pretension.

THUS a certain adoration of the sex, which passes in our age without the least charge of profaneness, or idolatry, may, according to vulgar imagination, serve to justify these *galante votarys*, in the imitation of the real *religious* and *devout*. The method of \* self-abasement may perhaps be thought the properest to make approaches to the sacred shrines: and the intire resignation of *merit*, in each case, may be esteem'd the only ground of well-deserving. But what we allow to *heaven*, or to *the fair*, shou'd not, methinks, be made a precedent, in favour of *the world*. Whatever deference is due to that body of men whom we call *readers*; we may be suppos'd to treat 'em with sufficient honour, if with thorow diligence, and pains, we endeavour to render our works *perfect*; and leave 'em to judg of the performance, as they are able.

\* *Supra*, pag. 26.

Part 3.  HOWEVER difficult or desperate it may appear in any artist to endeavour to bring *perfection* into his work ; if he has not at least the *idea of PERFECTION* to give him aim, he will be found very defective and mean in his performance. Tho his intention be to please the world, he must nevertheless be, in a manner, *above it* ; and fix his eye upon that consummate *grace*, that beauty of *nature*, and that *perfection* of numbers, which the rest of mankind, feeling only by the effect, whilst ignorant of the cause, term the *je-ne-sçay-quoy*, the unintelligible, or the I know not what ; and suppose to be a kind of *charm*, or *incantment*, of which the artist himself can give no account.

BUT HERE, I find, I am tempted to do what I have my-self condemn'd. Hardly can I forbear making some *apology* for my frequent recourse to the rules of common artists, to the masters of exercise, to the academys of painters, statuarys, and to the rest of the *virtuoso*-tribe. But in this I am so fully satisfy'd I have reason on my side, that let custom be ever so strong against me, I had rather repair to these inferiour schools, to search for TRUTH, and NATURE ; than to some other places, where higher arts and sciences are profess'd.

I AM persuaded that to be a *virtuoso* (so far as befits a gentleman) is a higher step towards the becoming a man of virtue and good sense, than the being what in this age we call \* a *scholar*. For even rude na-

\* It seems indeed somewhat improbable, that according to modern erudition, and as science is now distributed, our ingenious and noble youths shou'd obtain the full advantage of a just and liberal education, by uniting the *scholar*-part with that of the real *gentleman* and *man of breeding*. Academys for exercises, so useful to the publick, and essential in the formation of a genteel and liberal character, are unfortunately neglected. Letters are indeed banish'd, I know not where, in distant cloisters and

ture it-self, in its primitive simplicity, is a better guide Sect. 3.  
to judgment, than improv'd sophistry, and pedantick learning. The *faciunt, na, intelligendo, ut nihil intelligent*, will ever be apply'd by men of discernment and free thought to such logick, such principles, such forms and rudiments of knowledg, as are establish'd in certain schools of literature and science.

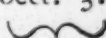
*unpractis'd cells*, as our Poet has it, confin'd to the commerce and mean *fellowship* of *bearded boys*. The sprightly arts and sciences are sever'd from *philosophy*, which consequently must grow dronish, insipid, pedantick, uselefs, and directly opposite to the real knowleg and practice of the world and mankind. Our youth accordingly seem to have their only chance between two widely different roads; either that of *pedantry* and *school-learning*, which lies amidst the dregs and most corrupt part of antient literature; or that of the *fashionable illiterate world*, which aims merely at the character of the *fine gentleman*, and takes up with the foppery of modern languages and foreign wit. The frightful aspect of the former of these roads makes the journey appear desperate and impracticable. Hence that aversion so generally conceiv'd against a *learn'd character*, wrong turn'd, and hideously set out, under such difficultys, and in such seeming labyrinths, and mysterious forms. As if a HOMER or a XENOPHON imperfectly learnt, in raw years, might not afterwards, in a riper age, be study'd, as well in a *capital city* and amidst the world, as at a college, or *country-town*? Or as if a PLUTARCH, a TULLY, or a HORACE cou'd not accompany a young man in his travels, at a court, or (if occasion were) even in a camp! The case is not without precedent. Leisure is found sufficient for other reading of numerous modern translations, and worse originals, of *Italian* or *French* authors, who are read merely for amusement. The *French* indeed may boast of some legitimate authors of a just relish, correct, and without any mixture of the affected or spurious kinds; the *false tender*, or the *false sublime*; the conceited *jingle*, or the ridiculous *point*. They are such genius's as have been form'd upon the natural model of the antients, and willingly own



Part 3. The case is sufficiently understood even by those who are unwilling to confess the truth of it. Effects betray their causes. And the known turn and figure of those understandings, which sprout from nurserys of this kind, give a plain idea of what is judg'd on this occasion. 'Tis no wonder, if after so wrong a ground of education, there appears to be such need of redress, and amendment, from that excellent school which we call *the world*. The mere amusements of *gentlemen* are found more improving than the profound researches of *pedants*. And in the management of our youth, we are forc'd to have recourse to the former; as an antidote against the genius peculiar to the latter. If the *formalists* of this sort were erected into patentees, with a sole commission of *authorship*; we shou'd undoubtedly see such writing in our days, as wou'd either wholly wean us from all books in general, or at least from all such as were the product of our own nation, under such a subordinate and conforming government.

HOWEVER this may prove, there can be no kind of writing which relates to men and manners, where it is not necessary for the author \* to understand *poetical* and *moral* TRUTH, *the beauty* of sentiments, *the sublime* of characters; and carry in his eye the model or exemplar of that *natural grace*, which gives to every action its attractive charm. If he has naturally no eye, or ear, for these *interiour numbers*; 'tis not likely he shou'd be able to judg better of that *exteriour proportion* and *symmetry* of composition, which constitutes a *legitimate piece*.

their debt to those great masters. But for the rest, who draw from another fountain, as the *Italian* authors in particular; they may be reckon'd no better than the corrupters of true learning and erudition; and can indeed be relish'd by those alone, whose education has unfortunately deny'd 'em the familiarity of the noble antients, and the practice of a better and more natural *taste*. See above, p. 193, &c. and VOL. II. p. 121, 122. \* *Sup.* p. 141.

COU'D we once convince our selves of what is in Sect. 3. it-self so evident ; \* " That in the very nature of  " things there must of necessity be the foundation of " a right and wrong TASTE, as well in respect of " inward characters and features, as of outward person, behaviour, and action ;" we shou'd be far more asham'd of ignorance and wrong judgment in the former, than in the latter of these subjects. Even in the arts, which are mere imitations of that outward grace and beauty, we not only confess a *taste* ; but make it a part of refined breeding, to discover, amidst the many false manners and ill stiles, the true and natural one, which represents the real *beauty* and † VENUS of the kind. 'Tis the like *moral GRACE*, and VENUS, which discovering it-self in the turns of *character*, and the variety of *human affection*, is copy'd by the writing artist. If he knows not this VENUS, these GRACES, nor was ever struck with the *beauty*, the *decorum* of this *inward* kind, he can neither paint advantageously after the life, nor in a feign'd subject, where he has full scope. For ‡ never can he, on these terms, represent *merit* and *virtue*, or mark *deformity* and *blemish*. Never can he with justice and true proportion assign the boundarys of either *part*, or separate the distant *characters*. The schemes must be defective, and the draughts confus'd, where *the standard* is weakly establish'd, and *the measure* out of use. Such a designer, who has so little feeling of these proportions, so little consciousness of this excellence, or these perfections, will never be found able to describe a *perfect character*, or, what is more according to art ||, " express the effect and force of " this *perfection*, from the result of various and mixt " characters of life." And thus the sense of inward

\* VOL. III. p. 113, 123, &c.

† *Supra*, p. 93, &c. and VOL. III. p. 125, 6, 7, 8, in the notes.

‡ *Supra*, p. 241.

|| VOL. III. p. 177, 8, 9. in the notes.

Part 3. numbers, the knowledg and practice of the social *virtues*, and the familiarity and favour of the *moral GRACES*, are essential to the character of a deserving artist, and just favourite of the *MUSES*. Thus are the *arts* and *virtues* mutually friends: and thus the science of *virtuoso's*, and that of *virtue* itself, become, in a manner, one and the same.

ONE who aspires to the character of a man of breeding and politeness, is careful to form his judgment of arts and sciences upon right models of *perfection*. If he travels to *ROME*, he inquires which are the truest pieces of architecture, the best remains of statues, the best paintings of a *RAPHAEL*, or a *CARACHE*. However antiquated, rough, or dismal they may appear to him, at first sight; he resolves to view 'em over and over, till he has brought himself to relish 'em, and finds their hidden *graces* and *perfections*. He takes particular care to turn his eye from every thing which is gaudy, luscious, and of a *false taste*. Nor is he less careful to turn his ear from every sort of musick, besides that which is of the best manner, and truest harmony.

'TWERE to be wish'd we had the same regard to a right *TASTE* in life and manners. What mortal being once convinc'd of a difference in *inward character*, and of a preference due to *one* kind above *another*; wou'd not be concern'd to make *his own* the best? If *civility* and *humanity* be a *TASTE*; if *brutality*, *insolence*, *riot*, be in the same manner a *TASTE*; who, if he cou'd reflect, wou'd not chuse to form himself on the amiable and agreeable, rather than the odious and perverse model? Who wou'd not endeavour to *force NATURE* as well in this respect, as in what relates to a *taste* or *judgment* in other arts and sciences? For in each place the *force on NATURE* is us'd only for its redress. If a natural *good TASTE* be not already form'd in us; why shou'd not we endeavour to form it, and become *natural*? —

" I LIKE! I fancy! I admire! How?

" By accident: or as *I please*. No. But I learn Sect. 3.  
 " to fancy, to admire, to *please*, as the subjects  
 " themselves are deserving, and can bear me out.  
 " Otherwise, I like at this hour, but dislike the next.  
 " I shall be weary of my pursuit, and, upon experi-  
 " ence, find little \* *pleasure* in the main, if my  
 " choice and judgment in it be from no other rule  
 " than that single one, *because I please*. Grotesque  
 " and monstrous figures often *please*. Cruel spectacles,  
 " and barbaritys are also found to *please*, and, in  
 " some tempers, to please *beyond all other subjects*.  
 " But is this pleasure *right*? And shall I follow it,  
 " if it presents? Not strive with it, or endeavour to  
 " prevent its growth or prevalency in my temper?  
 " — How stands the case in a more soft and flatter-  
 " ing kind of pleasure? — Effeminacy pleases me.  
 " The *Indian* figures, the *Japan-work*, the *Enamel*  
 " strikes my eye. The luscious colours and glossy  
 " paint gain upon my fancy. A *French* or *Flemish*  
 " stile is highly lik'd by me, at first sight; and I  
 " pursue my liking. But what ensues? — Do I not  
 " for ever forfeit my good relish? How is it possible  
 " I shou'd thus come to taste the beautys of an *Ita-*  
 " *lian* master, or of a hand happily form'd on na-  
 " ture and the antients? 'Tis not by wantonness and  
 " humour that I shall attain my end, and arrive at  
 " the enjoyment I propose. The *art* itself is † se-

\* *Supra*, p. 208. and VOL. II. p. 148, &c.

† Thus PLINY, speaking with a masterly judgment of  
 the dignity of the then declining art of painting (*de dignitate  
 artis morientis*) shews it to be not only *severe* in respect of  
 the discipline, stile, design, but of the characters and lives  
 of the noble masters: not only in the effect, but even in  
 the very materials of the art, the colours, ornaments, and  
 particular circumstances belonging to the profession. —  
 EUPHRANORIS *discipulus* ANTIDOTUS, *diligentior quam  
 numerosior, & in coloribus severus*. — NICIÆ *comparatur*,  
 & aliquanto *præfertur* ATHENION Maronites, GLAUCIO-  
 NIS Corinthii *discipulus, & austerior colore, & in austeritate*

Part 3. " vere: the rules rigid. And if I expect *the know-*  
 " *ledg* shou'd come to me by accident, or in play;  
 " I shall be grossly deluded, and prove my-self, at  
 " best, a *mock-virtuoso*, or mere *pedant* of the kind."

*jucundior, ut in ipsa pictura eruditio cluceat. \* \* \* Quid nisi in juvenia obisset, nemo ei compararetur. — PAUSIÆ & filius & discipulus ARISTOLAUS e severissimis pictoribus fuit. — Fuit & nuper gravis ac severus pictore AMULIUS. \* \* \* Paucis dici horis pigebat, id quoque cum gravitate, quod semper rogatus, quamquam in machinis. One of the mortal symptoms upon which PLINY pronounces the sure death of this noble art, not long survivor to him, was what belong'd in common to all the other perishing arts after the fall of liberty; I mean the luxury of the ROMAN court, and the change of taste and manners naturally consequent to such a change of government and dominion. This excellent, learned, and polite critick represents to us the false taste springing from the court it-self, and from that opulence, splendour, and affectation of magnificence and expence proper to the place. Thus in the statuary and architecture then in vogue, nothing cou'd be admir'd beside what was costly in the mere matter or substance of the work. Precious rock, rich metal, glittering stones, and other luscious ware, poisonous to art, came every day more into request, and were impos'd, as necessary materials, on the best masters. 'Twas in favour of these court-beautys and gaudy appearances, that all good drawing, just design, and truth of work began to be despis'd. Care was taken to procure from distant parts, the most gorgeous splendid colours, of the most costly growth or composition: not such as had been us'd by APOLLO and the great masters, who were justly severe, loyal, and faithful to their art. This newer colouring our critick call the florid kind. The materials were too rich to be furnish'd by the painter, but were bespoke, or furnish'd at the cost of the person who employ'd him; (quos Dominus pingenti praestat.) The other he calls the austere kind. And thus (says he) " Rerum, non animi pretiis excubatur: The cost, and not the life, and art, is study'd." He shews, on the contrary, what care APOLLO*



HERE therefore we have once again exhibited Sect. 3. our moral science, in the same method and manner of SOLILOQUY as above. To this correction of *humour* and formation of a *taste*, our reading, if it be of the right sort, must principally contribute. Whatever company we keep; or however polite and agreeable their characters may be, with whom we converse, or correspond: if the *authors* we read are of another kind, we shall find our palat strangely turn'd their way. We are the unhappier in this respect, for being *scholars*; if our studys be ill chosen. Nor can I, for this reason, think it proper to call a man *well-read* who reads *many authors*: since he must of necessity have more ill models, than good; and be more stuff'd with bombast, ill fancy, and wry thought; than fill'd with solid sense, and just imagination.

BUT notwithstanding this hazard of our *taste*, from a multiplicity of reading; we are not, it seems, the least scrupulous in our choice of subject. We read whatever comes next us. What was first put into our hand, when we were young, serves us afterwards for serious study, and wise research, when we are old. We are many of us, indeed, so grave as to continue this exercise of youth thro our remaining life. The exercising-authors of this kind have been above \* describ'd, in the beginning of this treatise. The manner of exercise is call'd *Meditation*, and is of a sort so solemn and profound, that we dare not so

as took to subdue the *florid* colours, by a darkening variety; *ut eadem res* (says he) *nimis floridis coloribus austeritate occulte daret*. And he says just before, of some of the best pieces of APELLES, "That they were wrought in four colours only." So great and venerable was SIMPLICITY held among the antients, and so certain was the gain of all true elegance in life or art, where this mistress was once quitted or contemn'd! See PLINY, l. 35. See also, above, p. 97. in the notes; and p. 150.

\* Page 112, 113, &c.

Part 3. much as thorowly examine the subject, on which we are bid to meditate. This is a sort of *task*-reading, in which a TASTE is not permitted. How little soever we take of this diet; 'tis sufficient to give full exercise to our grave humour, and allay the appetite towards further research and solid contemplation. The rest is holiday, diversion, play, and fancy. We reject all *rule*; as thinking it an injury to our diversions, to have regard to *truth* or *nature*: without which, however, nothing can be truly agreeable, or entertaining; much less instructive, or improving. Thro a certain \* surfeit taken in a wrong kind of *serious* reading, we apply our-selves, with full content, to the most *ridiculous*. The more remote our pattern is from any thing moral or profitable; the more freedom and satisfaction we find in it. We care not how *Gothick* or *barbarous* our models are; what ill-design'd or monstrous figures we view; or what false proportions we trace, or see describ'd in history, romance, or fiction. And thus our *eye* and *ear* is lost. Our relish or *taste* must of necessity grow barbarous, whilst *barbarian* customs, *savage* manners, *Indian* wars, and wonders of the *terra incognita*, employ our leisure hours, and are the chief materials to furnish out a library.

THESE are in our present days, what *books of chivalry* were, in those of our forefathers. I know not what *faith* our valiant ancestors may have had in the stories of their giants, their dragons, and St. GEORGE'S. But for our *faith* indeed, as well as our *taste*, in this other way of reading; I must confess I can't consider it, without astonishment.

It must certainly be something else than *incredulity*, which fashions the taste and judgment of many gentlemen, whom we hear censur'd as *Atheists*, for attempting to philosophize after a newer manner than any known of late. For my own part, I have ever thought this sort of men to be in general more cre-

\* *Supra*, pag. 49, 50.

dulous, tho after another manner, than the mere Sect. 3. vulgar. Besides what I have observ'd in conversati-  
 on with the men of this character, I can produce many anathematiz'd authors, who if they want a true *Israelitish* faith, can make amends by a *Chinese* or *Indian* one. If they are short in *Syria*, or the *Palestine*; they have their full measure in *America*, or *Japan*. Historys of *Incas* or *Iroquois*, written by fryers and missionarys, pirates and renegades, sea-captains and trusty travellers, pass for authentick records, and are *canonical*, with the *virtuoso's* of this sort. Tho *Christian* miracles may not so well satisfy 'em; they dwell with the highest contentment on the prodigys of *Moorish* and *Pagan* countrys. They have far more pleasure in hearing the monstrous accounts of monstrous men, and manners; than the politest and best narrations of the affairs, the governments, and lives of the wisest and most polish'd people.

'Tis the same *taste* which makes us prefer a *Turkish* history to a *Grecian*, or a *Roman*; an *ARIOSTO* to a *VIRGIL*; and a romance or novel, to an *Iliad*. We have no regard to the character or genius of our author: nor are so far curious, as to observe how able he is in the judgment of *facts*, or how ingenious in the texture of his *lies*. For *facts* unably related, tho with the greatest sincerity, and good faith, may prove the worst sort of deceit: and mere *lies*, judiciously compos'd, can teach us the \* truth of things, beyond any other manner. But to amuse our-selves with such authors as neither know how to *lye*, nor *tell truth*, discovers a *TASTE*, which methinks one shou'd not be apt to envy. Yet so enchanted we are with the *travelling memoirs* of any

\* The greatest of Criticks says of the greatest Poet, when he extols him to the highest, "That above all others he understood *how TO LYE*: Δεδίδαχε ὁ μάλιστα Ὁμηρος" ἢ τὰς ἄλλας ψευδὴ λέγειν ὡς δεῖ." Arist. de Poet. cap. 24.

— See VOL. III. p. 177. in the notes.

Part 3. casual adventurer ; that be his character, or genius, what it will, we have no sooner turn'd over a page or two, than we begin to interest our-selves highly in his affairs. No sooner has he taken shipping at the mouth of the *Thames*, or sent his baggage before him to *Gravesend*, or *Buoy in the Nore*, than strait our attention is earnestly taken up. If in order to his more distant travels, he takes some part of EUROPE in his way ; we can with patience hear of inns and ordinarys, passage-boats and ferrys, foul and fair weather ; with all the particulars of the author's diet, habit of body, his personal dangers and mischances, on land, and sea. And thus, full of desire and hope, we accompany him, till he enters on his great scene of action, and begins by the description of some *enormous fish*, or *beast*. From monstrous brutes he proceeds to yet more monstrous men. For in this race of authors, *he* is ever compleatest, and of the first rank, who is able to speak of things the most *unnatural* and *monstrous*.

THIS humour our \* old tragick Poet seems to have discover'd. He hit our *tasse* in giving us a *Moorish* hero, full fraught with prodigy : a wondrous *story-teller* ! But for the attentive part, the Poet chose to give it to woman-kind. What passionate reader of *travels*, or student in the prodigious sciences, can refuse to pity that fair lady, who fell in love with the *miraculous* MOOR ? especially considering with what futable grace such a lover cou'd relate the most monstrous adventures, and satisfy the wondrous appetite with the most wondrous tales ; *wherein* (says the hero-traveller)

*Of antars vaste, and desarts idle,  
It was my hint to speak :  
And of the Cannibals that each other eat !  
The Anthropophagic ! and men whose heads  
Do grow beneath their shoulders. These to hear  
Wou'd DESDEMONA seriously incline.*

\* SHAKESPEAR.

SERIOUSLY, 'twas a woful tale ! unfit, one Sect. 3.  
 wou'd think, to win a tender fair-one. 'Tis true, the Poet sufficiently condemns her fancy ; and makes her (poor Lady !) pay dearly for it, in the end. But why, amongst his *Greek* names, he shou'd have chosen one which denoted the Lady *superstitious*, I can't imagine : unless, as poets are sometimes prophets too, he shou'd figuratively, under this dark *type* have represented to us, that about an hundred years after his time, the fair sex of this island shou'd, by other monstrous *tales*, be so seduc'd, as to turn their favour chiefly on the persons of the *tale-tellers* ; and change their natural inclination for fair, candid, and courteous knights, into a passion for a mysterious race of black enchanters : such as of old were said to *creep into houses*, and *lead captive silly women*.

'Tis certain there is a very great affinity between the passion of *superstition*, and that of *tales*. The love of strange narrations, and the ardent appetite towards *unnatural* objects, has a near alliance with the like appetite towards the *supernatural* kind, such as are call'd *prodigious*, and *of dire omen*. For so the mind forebodes, on every such unusual sight or hearing. Fate, destiny, or the anger of heaven, seems denoted, and as it were delineated, by the monstrous birth, the horrid fact, or dire event. For this reason the very persons of such *relators* or *tale-tellers*, with a small help of dismal habit, futable countenance and tone, become sacred and tremendous in the eyes of mortals, who are thus addicted from their youth. The tender virgins, losing their natural softness, assume this tragick passion, of which they are highly susceptible, especially when a futable kind of eloquence and action attends the character of the *narrator*. A thousand *DESDEMONA*'s are then ready to present themselves, and wou'd frankly resign fathers, relations, countrymen, and country it-self, to follow the fortunes of a *hero* of the black tribe.

BUT whatever monstrous zeal, or superstitious passion, the poet might foretel, either in the gentlemen,



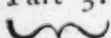
Part 3. ladys, or common people, of an after age; 'tis certain that as to books, the same *Moorisb* fancy, in its plain and literal sense, prevails strongly at this present time. Monsters and monster-lands were never more in request: and we may often see a philosopher, or a wit, run a tale-gathering in those *idle desarts*, as familiarly as the silliest woman, or merest boy.

ONE WOU'D imagine that \* our *philosophical* writers, who pretend to treat of morals, shou'd far out-do mere *poets*, in recommending virtue, and represent-

\* Considering what has been so often said on this subject of philosophy, learning and the *sister-arts*, after that ancient model which has since been so much corrupted; it may not be amiss perhaps to hear the confession of one of the greatest and most learned of moderns, upon this head. " Scilicet assensuri isti sunt veteribus sapientibus, " poeticam τῆς Σεμνοτάτης φιλοσοφίας εἶναϊ Σύνναον, *seuer-* " *rissimae philosophiae contubernalem esse*; quos videmus o- " mni cura morum posthabita, quae vera philosophia est, " in nescio quibus argumentatiunculis, in nugis *sophisticis*, " in puerilibus argutiolis, λωστοῖς denique ῥηματισμοῖς τῆς δια- " λεκτικῆς, quod sua jam aetate *Euphrades Themisius* con- " querebatur, summam sapientiam ponere! Scilicet facun- " diae PERSII virile robur, aut recondita illa eruditio eos " capiet, quibus pristinam barbariem mordicus retinere, & " in antiquitatis totius ignoratione versari, potius videtur " esse ac melius, quam possessionem literarum, olim simili " socordia extinctarum, memoria vero patrum magno Dei " immortalis beneficio in lucem revocatarum ex alta ho- " minum oblivione, sibi vindicare, & pro sua quemque vi- " rili posteris asserere! \*\*\*\*\* Scribit vero ARRIANUS, " sapientissimum senem illum EPICTETUM, impietatis in " Deum eos insinulasse, qui in philosophiae studiis τὴν " παγγελτικὴν δύναμιν, sive Sermonis curam tanquam rem " levem aspernarentur: quoniam quidem, aiebat vir divi- " nus, ἀσεβὴς ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος τὰς παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ χάριτας ἀτι- " μάζειν. En germanum philosophum! En vocem aure- " am! Nec minus memorabile *Synefii* philosophi praestan-

ing what was *fair* and *amiable* in human actions. Sect. 3.  
 One wou'd imagine, that if they turn'd their eye towards remote countrys (of which they affect so much to speak) they should search for that simplici-

"tissimi vaticinium trilli eventu confirmatum, quod multo  
 "ante ab ipso est editum, cum rationem studiorum simili-  
 "liter perverti ab aequalibus suis cerneret. Disputans  
 "enim contra eos qui ad sanctissimae theologiae studia in-  
 "fantiam & sophisticen pro solida eruditione afferrent, fa-  
 "tidicam hanc quasi sortem edidit. *Κίνδυνος*, inquit, *εἰς*  
 "*ἀδυσσάν τινα φλυαρίας ἐμπιπόντας τύχης διαρθῆναι*.  
 "Periculum est ne hujusmodi homines in abyssum quam-  
 "dam ineptiarum delapsi penitus corrumpantur. Utinam  
 "defuisset huic oraculo fides. Sed profecto, depravationi  
 "illi, & hujus scientiarum reginae, & omnium aliarum,  
 "quae postea accidit, occasionem quidem *Gothorum* &  
 "*Alanorum* invasiones praebuerunt: at causa illius propi-  
 "or ac vera est, ratio studiorum perversa, & in liberalibus  
 "disciplinis prava institutio, ac linguarum simul & univer-  
 "sae literaturae melioris ignoratio. \* \* \* \* Atqui non in  
 "eum certe finem viri magni & praecepta & exempla vir-  
 "tutum memoriae commendata ad posteros transmiserunt,  
 "ut ad inanem aurium oblectationem, vel jactationem va-  
 "nam inutilis eruditionis, ea cognosceremus: verum ut suis  
 "nos lucubrationibus excitarent ad effodienda & in actum  
 "producenda RECTI HONESTIQUE semina; quae cum a  
 "natura acceperimus, vitiis tamen circumfusa, & tantum  
 "non obruta, sic in nostris animis, nisi cultura melior ac-  
 "cedat, latent, quasi in altum quendam scrobem penitus  
 "defossa. Huc spectant tot illa volumina quae de mora-  
 "li disciplina philosophi confecerunt. Tendit eodem &  
 "*Graecorum Latinorumque* poetarum pleraque manus; sed  
 "itineribus diversis. Quot sunt enim poetarum genera  
 "(sunt autem quamplurima) tot fere diverticula & viarum  
 "ambages eo ducentium." *Is. Caupab.* in praefatione com-  
 "mentarii ad *Perf.* See above, p. 129, 130, &c. and 140,  
 "141, 193. and 201, 202. and 224, &c. and 228, &c.  
 "And Vol. III. p. 44, 56, 57, &c. and 162, 163, 164,  
 "in the notes.

Part 3.  ty of manners, and innocence of behaviour, which has been often known among mere savages; e'er they were corrupted by our commerce, and, by sad example, instructed in all kinds of treachery and inhumanity. 'Twon'd be of advantage to us, to hear the causes of this strange corruption in our-selves, and be made consider of our deviation from nature, and from that just purity of manners which might be expected, especially from a people so assisted and enlighten'd by religion. For who wou'd not naturally expect more justice, fidelity, temperance, and honesty from *Christians*, than from *Mahometans*, or mere *Pagans*? But so far are our modern moralists from condemning any unnatural vices, or corrupt manners, whether in our own or foreign climates, that they wou'd have VICE it-self appear as *natural* as VIRTUE; and from the worst examples, wou'd represent to us, "That all actions are *naturally indifferent*; that "they have no note or character of good, or ill, in "themselves; but are distinguish'd by mere FASHION, LAW, or *arbitrary DECREE*." Wonderful philosophy! rais'd from the dregs of an illiterate mean kind, which was ever despis'd among the great antients, and rejected by all men of action, or sound erudition; but, in these ages, imperfectly copy'd from the original, and, with much disadvantage, imitated, and assum'd, in common, both by devout and indevout attempters in the moral kind.

SHOU'D a writer upon *musick*, addressing himself to the students and lovers of the art, declare to 'em, "That the measure or rule of HARMONY was *caprice or will, humour or fashion*; 'tis not very likely she shou'd be heard with great attention, or treated with real gravity. For HARMONY is harmony *by nature*, let men judg ever so ridiculously of musick. So is *symmetry* and *proportion* founded still *in nature*, let mens fancy prove ever so barbarous, or their fashions ever so *Gothick* in their architecture, sculpture, or whatever other designing art. 'Tis the same case, where *life* and MANNERS are concern'd.

*Virtue* has the same fix'd standard. The same *num- Sect. 3.*  
*bers, harmony, and proportion* will have place in  
 MORALS; and are discoverable in the *characters* and  
*affections* of mankind; in which are laid the just  
 foundations of an art and science, superior to every  
 other of human practice and comprehension.

THIS, I suppose therefore, is highly necessary, that  
 a writer shou'd comprehend. For things are stub-  
 born, and will not be as we fancy 'em, or as the fa-  
 shion varys, but as they stand in nature. Now whe-  
 ther the writer be *poet, philosopher*, or of whatever  
 kind; he is in truth no other than a *copist after NA-*  
 TURE. His *style* may be differently suted to the  
 different times he lives in, or to the different hu-  
 mour of his age or nation. His manner, his dress,  
 his *colouring* may vary. But if his *drawing* be un-  
 correct, or his *design* contrary to nature; his piece  
 will be found ridiculous, when he comes thorowly  
 to be examin'd. For nature will not be mock'd.  
 The prepossession against her can never be very last-  
 ing. Her *decrees* and *instincts* are powerful; and  
 her sentiments *in-bred*. She has a strong party *a-*  
*broad*; and as strong a one *within our-selves*: and  
 when any slight is put upon her, she can soon turn  
 the reproach, and make large reprisals on the *taste*  
 and judgment of her antagonists.

WHATEVER *philosopher, critick, or author* is  
 convinc'd of this prerogative of *nature*, will easily be  
 perswaded to apply himself to the great work of *re-*  
*forming his TASTE*; which he will have reason to  
 suspect, if he be not such a one as has *deliberately*  
 endeavour'd to frame it by the just *standard of na-*  
*ture*. Whether this be his case, he will easily dis-  
 cover, by appealing to his memory. For *custom* and  
*fashion* are powerful seducers: and he must of ne-  
 cessity have fought hard against these, to have at-  
 tain'd that justness of *taste*, which is requir'd in one  
 who pretends to *follow nature*. But if no such con-  
 flict can be call'd to mind; 'tis a certain token that  
 the party has his *taste* very little different from the

Part 3. vulgar. And on this account he shou'd instantly be-  
 take himself to the wholsom practice recommended  
 in this treatise. He shou'd set afoot the powerfullest  
 facultys of his mind, and assemble the best forces of  
 his wit and judgment, in order to make a formal de-  
 scent on the territorys of *the heart*: resolving to de-  
 cline no combat, nor hearken to any terms, till he  
 had pierc'd into its inmost provinces, and reach'd the  
 feat of empire. No treatys shou'd amuse him; no  
 advantages lead him aside. All other speculations  
 shou'd be suspended, all other mysterys resign'd; till  
 this necessary campaign was made, and these inward  
 conflicts learnt; by which he wou'd be able to gain  
 at least some tolerable insight into *himself*, and know-  
 ledg of his own *natural principles*.

IT MAY here perhaps be thought, that not-  
 withstanding the particular *advice* we have given, in  
 relation to the forming of a TASTE in *natural* cha-  
 racters and manners; we are still defective in our  
 performance, whilst we are silent on *supernatural*  
 cases, and bring not into our consideration the man-  
 ners and characters deliver'd to us in *holy writ*. But  
 this objection will soon vanish, when we consider,  
 that there can be no rules given by *human wit*, to  
 that which was never humanly conceiv'd, but *divine-  
 ly* dictated, and inspir'd.

FOR this reason, 'twou'd be in vain for any \* poet,  
 or ingenious author, to form his characters, after  
 the models of our sacred penmen. And whatever  
 certain *criticks* may have advanc'd concerning the  
 structure of a *heroick poem* of this kind; I will be  
 bold to prophesy, that the success will never be an-  
 swerable to expectation.

IT must be own'd, that in our sacred history we  
 have both leaders, conquerors, founders of nations,  
 deliverers, and patriots, who, even in a human  
 sense, are no-way behind the chief of those so much

\* VOL. III. p. 162, 163, 164. in the notes.



celebrated by the antients. There is nothing in the Sect. 3.  
 story of ÆNEAS, which is not equal'd or exceeded  
 by a JOSHUA or a MOSES. But as illustrious as  
 are the acts of these sacred chiefs, 'twou'd be hard  
 to copy them in just *heroick*. 'Twou'd be hard to  
 give to many of 'em that graceful air, which is ne-  
 cessary to render 'em naturally pleasing to mankind:  
 according to the idea men are universally found to  
 have of *heroism*, and *generosity*.

NOTWITHSTANDING the pious endeavours which,  
 as devout Christians, we may have us'd in order to  
 separate our-selves from the interests of mere *hea-  
 thens* and *infidels*; notwithstanding the true pains we  
 may have taken, to arm our hearts in behalf of a  
*chosen people*, against their neighbouring nations, of a  
 false religion, and worship; there will be still found  
 such a partiality remaining in us, towards creatures  
 of the same make and figure with our-selves, as will  
 hinder us from viewing with satisfaction the punish-  
 ments inflicted by human hands on such *aliens* and  
*idolaters*.

IN mere *poetry*, and the pieces of wit and litera-  
 ture, there is a liberty of thought and easiness of hu-  
 mour indulg'd to us, in which perhaps we are not  
 so well able to contemplate the divine judgments,  
 and see clearly into the justice of those *ways*, which  
 are declar'd to be so far *from our ways*, and above  
 our highest thoughts or understandings. In such a  
 situation of mind, we can hardly endure to see *hea-  
 then* treated as *heathen*; and the *faithful* made the  
 executioners of the divine wrath. There is a cer-  
 tain perverse humanity in us, which inwardly resists  
 the divine commission, tho ever so plainly reveal'd.  
 The wit of the best poet is not sufficient to reconcile  
 us to the campaign of a JOSHUA, or the retreat of  
 a MOSES, by the assistance of an EGYPTIAN *loan*.  
 Nor will it be possible, by the *Muses* art, to make  
 that royal *hero* appear amiable in human eyes, who  
 found such favour in the eye of heaven. Such are  
 mere *human hearts*; that they can hardly find the

Part 3. least sympathy with that only one which had the character of being after *the pattern* of the ALMIGHTY'S.

'Tis apparent therefore that the manners, actions and characters of *sacred writ*, are in no-wise the proper subject of other authors than *divines* themselves. They are matters incomprehensible in philosophy: they are above the pitch of the mere human *historian*, the *politician*, or the *moralist*; and are too sacred to be submitted to the *poet's* fancy, when inspir'd by no other *spirit* than that of his profane mistresses, the MUSES.

I shou'd be unwilling to examine rigorously the performance of our \* great Poet, who sung so piously the *fall of man*. The *war in heaven*, and the *catastrophe* of that original *pair* from whom the generations of mankind were propagated, are matters so abstrusely reveal'd, and with such a resemblance of *mythology*, that they can more easily bear what figurative construction or fantastick turn the poet may think fit to give 'em. But shou'd he venture farther, into the lives and characters of the patriarchs, the holy matrons, heroes and heroines of the chosen seeds, shou'd he employ the sacred *machine*, the exhibitions and interventions of Divinity, according to holy writ, to support the *action* of his piece; he wou'd soon find the weakness of his pretended *orthodox* MUSE, and prove how little those divine patterns were capable of human imitation, or of being rais'd to any other majesty, or sublime, than that in which they originally appear.

THE *theology*, or THEOGONY, of the *heathens* cou'd admit of such different turns and figurative expressions, as suted the fancy and judgment of each philosopher or poet. But the purity of our faith will admit of no such variation. The *Christian* THEOLOGY; the *birth*, *procedure*, *generation*, and *personal distinction* of the DIVINITY, are mysterys on-

ly to be determin'd by *the initiated*, or *ordin'd*; Sect. 3. to whom the state has assign'd the guardianship and promulgation of the divine oracles. It becomes not those who are un-inspir'd from heaven, and un-commission'd from earth, to search with curiosity into the original of those holy rites and records, *by law establish'd*. Shou'd we make such an attempt; we shou'd in probability find the less satisfaction, the further we presum'd to carry our speculations. Having dar'd once to quit the authority and direction of *the law*, we shou'd easily be subject to *heterodoxy* and *error*, when we had no better warrant left us for the authority of our sacred SYMBOLS, than the integrity, candour, and disinterestedness of their *compilers*, and *registers*. How great that candour and disinterestedness may have been, we have no other historys to inform us, than those of their own licensing or composing. But busy persons, who officiously search into these records, are ready even from hence to draw proofs very disadvantageous to the same and character of this *succession* of men. And persons moderately read in these historys, are apt to judg no otherwise of the temper of antient *councils*, than by that of later *synods* and modern *convocations*.

WHEN we add to this the melancholy consideration of what disturbances have been rais'd from the disputes of this kind: what effusion of blood, what devastation of provinces, what shock and ruin of empires have been occasion'd by controversys, founded on the nicest distinction of an article relating to these *mysteries*; 'twill be judg'd vain in any poet, or polite author, to think of rendering himself agreeable, or entertaining, whilst he makes such subjects as these to be his *theme*.

BUT tho the explanation of such deep mysteries, and religious dutys, be allotted as the peculiar province of *the sacred order*; 'tis presum'd, nevertheless, that it may be lawful for other *authors* to retain their antient privilege of instructing mankind,

Part 3. in a way of pleasure, and entertainment. *Poets* may be allow'd their fictions, and *philosophers* their systems. 'Twould go hard with mankind, shou'd the patentees for religion be commission'd for all instruction and advice, relating to manners, or conversation. *The stage* may be allow'd to instruct, as well as *the pulpit*. The way of *wit* and *humour* may be serviceable, as well as that of *gravity* and *seriousness*: and the way of plain *reason* as well as that of exalted *revelation*. The main matter is to keep these provinces distinct, and settle their just boundarys. And on this account it is that we have endeavour'd to represent to modern *authors* the necessity of making this separation justly, and in due form.

'Twould be somewhat hard, methinks, if RELIGION, as by \* *law* establish'd, were not allow'd the same privileges as HERALDRY. 'Tis agreed on all hands, that particular persons may *design* or *paint*, in their private capacity, after what manner they think fit: but they must *blazon* only as the publick directs. Their *lyon* or *bear* must be figur'd as the science appoints! and their *supporters* and *crest* must be such as their wise and gallant ancestors have procur'd for 'em. No matter whether the shapes of these animals hold just proportion with nature. No matter tho different or contrary forms are join'd in one. That which is deny'd to *painters*, or *poets*, is permitted to HERALDS. *Naturalists* may, in their separate and distinct capacity, inquire, as they think fit, into the real existence and natural truth of things: but they must by no means dispute the authoriz'd forms. *Mermaids* and *griffins* were the wonder of our forefathers; and, as such, deliver'd down to us by the authentick traditions and delineations above mention'd. We ought not so much as to criticise the features or dimensions of a *Saracen's* face, brought by our conquering ancestors from the holy wars; nor pretend to call in question the figure

or size of a *dragon*, on which the history of our national champion, and the establishment of a high order, and dignity of the realm depends. Sect. 3.

BUT as worshipful as are the persons of the illustrious heralds CLARENCIEUX, GARTER, and the rest of those eminent sustainers of *British* honour, and antiquity; 'tis to be hop'd that in a more civiliz'd age, such as the present we have the good fortune to live in, they will not attempt to strain their privileges to the same height as formerly. Having been reduc'd by law, or settled practice, from the power they once enjoy'd, they will not, 'tis presum'd, in defiance of the magistrate and civil power, erect anew their stages, and lists, introduce the manner of civil combats, set us to tilt and tournament, and raise again those defiances, and mortal frays, of which their order were once the chief managers, and promoters.

TO CONCLUDE: The only method which can justly qualify us for this high privilege of giving ADVICE, is, in the first place, *to receive it, our-selves*, with due submission; when the *public* has vouchsaf'd to give it us, by authority. And if in our private capacity, we can have resolution enough to criticize our-selves, and call in question our high imaginations, florid desires, and specious sentiments, according to the manner of SOLILOQUY above prescrib'd; we shall by the natural course of things, as we grow wiser, prove less conceited; and introduce into our character that *modesty*, *condescension*, and just *humanity* which is essential to the success of all friendly *counsel* and *admonition*. An honest *home-PHILOSOPHY* must teach us the wholesome practice within our-selves. *Polite reading*, and *converse* with mankind of the better sort, will qualify us for what remains.

*The End of the First Volume.*



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Two persons . . . self 125

2 game & all 127

Port a nation 140

History of the day 167

There is a . . . 197

Good & pleasure 208

Leaf of salt 213

The . . . . .  
give no account 224

Charms 228

History of the . . . 230

Charm 241, 242

Gravitation of wit & humor

Appearance of reality 4

Inspiration 5, 35, 36

Ridicule 8, 40, 65

High class of wit 5

Gravity - 7th way of humor of inspiration

Indulgence of inspiration 10

Vasson 11, 62

Teach for enlightenment 16

Home - open philosophy 29

function 36

Orations 48

Partial description 58

Reverend of virtue 66

Public enemy 7, 43

apology of right & wrong 74

War 77

war - war 81

Friendship 88

Beauty of ideal is from ideal of Transcendental 9

Beauty of the mind 93

Of outward features the expression

So-called beauty of the mind 95

Beauty is truth 96

Notre and wit 99 //



